University of Alberta

Kantō Resident Ainu and the Urban Indigenous Experience

by

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ABSTRACT

Today, a large proportion if not majority of the world's Indigenous peoples lives in cities or urbanized areas. Despite awareness of this fact from within the international Indigenous movement, city life is still represented as being peripheral to the authentic centre of Indigenous life 'at home'. In general, researchers have only just begun to critique this representation and attend seriously to the new forms and processes of Indigenous sociality that underpin such diasporic geographies. In this thesis, I examine the politics surrounding urban Indigenous mobility and propose an analytical approach to its study based on the concept of diaspora. I develop this diasporic framework with regard to the situation of Ainu – the Indigenous people in Japan – resident in and around the greater metropolitan region of Tokyo (*Kantō*). Serious interest in Kantō resident Ainu history has been lacking in both academic and public domains, to the extent that the array of issues affecting and reflecting their social organization have represented a highly marginal if not altogether overlooked point of interest within the general field of Ainu studies. I demonstrate that to concentrate on the diasporic history and dynamics of Ainu resident in the capital region underlines the misguided regionalization of contemporary Ainu studies and affairs to northern Japan. It also raises important questions concerning Ainu identity, self-organization and political rights that contests established ideas about Ainu culture and society. On a broader level, it provides an original example of how Indigenous people negotiate their experience of the city and together form their own places, memories and connections through social relations in and beyond the urban environment.

PREFACE

As with any study on Japan and/or Ainu there are conventional matters of style and format that require clarification from the outset. For the purposes of this thesis, Japanese names are given in their original format, i.e. family name followed by the first name. Whilst I have been conscious at all stages of writing to attend to every relevant detail, for the sake of stylistic consistency and grammatical fluency I avoid the use of Japanese characters and transliterate Japanese words into roman type throughout, however, macrons have not been used where standard roman type avoids using them (thus Tokyo rather than Tokyō). The transliteration of all Ainu words is taken from Kayano Shigeru's *Ainugo Jiten* ('Ainu Dictionary'. Sanseido, 1996).

In following conventions of previous studies concerning the Ainu people in Japan, I replace the term "Japanese" (*Nihonjin*) with *Wajin* when referring to the majority ethnic Japanese population. There is no adequate translation in English for this term. Nevertheless, it serves to differentiate the majority ethnic population from Ainu and by-pass the semantic association of *Nihonjin* with Japanese nationality – a somewhat redundant term for Ainu research when considering that the majority of Ainu in Japan are Japanese nationals. Finally, on a wider note of style, I purposefully use an upper-case 'I' for the word 'Indigenous' throughout. In doing this, I am adopting an increasingly common mode of address found in both government publications and academic papers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"How wide the eyes have to be/ to see the world"

Some years after my time as an undergraduate exchange student at a university in Finland, I remember following my customary instinct regarding *Fenniana* and picking up an anthology of Finnish poetry in a London bookshop and coming across the above line in a poem called *Bright Nameless Night* (Kirkas Nimetön Yö) by Caj Westerberg. Ever since, I have returned to it time and again as the written motif for personal and fieldwork diaries. Despite the passing of the years and untold changes in my own life, there has always remained something in its prosaic poetic that I have found to be of particular relevance. In thinking of how to sincerely acknowledge the people without whom this thesis, quite simply, wouldn't be, I am once again drawn back to its effect as inspiration.

For first inspiring my interest in Japan Studies long before starting my PhD I am most grateful to Murotani Kiyoshi, my kind and generous supervisor whilst I was an Assistant Language Teacher on the Japanese government JET Programme. I would also like to thank Komatsu Fumiko for her dogged determination in keeping the language alive for me and for introducing me to the history of Ishikawa-ken on numerous 'field trips' which provided me with my first awareness of the extension of Ainu culture beyond the borders of Hokkaidō. Thanks is also due to Dave Sweeney for keeping in touch over the years and for finding and forwarding numerous materials when other sources ran dry.

Within the Department of Anthropology at the University of Alberta I have an inordinate number of people to thank. Liz Jobagy, Joanne McKinnon and Gail Mathew provided invaluable assistance with administrative issues, often at short notice and at a distance, that allowed me to dedicate time to other things. I am grateful to both Mark Nuttall and Chris Fletcher for coming on board my committee for the last year and for helpful and prompt comments at all times and to Owen Beattie for his assistance in the run-up to the defense. I am especially thankful to Hayashi Naotaka for his time spent working on my (endless) language questions. To Craig Campbell (and family) I owe a huge debt of gratitude not only for the friendship over the years but for providing me with a place to stay whenever I passed through town and for putting up with the arrival of numerous, heavy boxes sent from the field. Grant Zazula has always been there for me in times both good and bad and without whom many a place would have been left unfurnished! For their help and support in a myriad of ways (sometimes unknown to them) I would also like to

acknowledge Darren Shaw, Satoshi Ikeda (Sociology), Andie Palmer, Jean DeBernardi, Souryan Mookerjea (Sociology), Greg Forth and Mike Evans.

Fieldwork is always a difficult process and its success reliant upon the goodwill and generosity of a wide range of people. In Japan, I am most grateful to Professor Henry Stewart and to staff at the Institute of International Culture at Showa Women's University, Tokyo. Professor Stewart not only went out of his way to officially guarantee my position as visiting researcher but was always on hand to offer welcome advice and insight. Prior to starting fieldwork "proper" I spent an invaluable four months at the Japan Foundation Language Institute, Kansai courtesy of a Japan Foundation post-graduate scholarship. Without the opportunities afforded by the scholarship at that time or the dedication of the staff in helping to facilitate my research, my eventual fieldwork would have been a much poorer experience. Indeed it is only with hindsight that I recognize just how important the early days of fieldwork actually were and the roles of several key people in making my research possible. Sidney Cheung first put me in touch with contacts in Tokyo and has remained a supportive colleague since. In Tokyo, Terachi Goichi became the catalyst for nearly everything that followed. His unconditional support, unparalleled energy and belief in this research remains an inspiration. The same can also be said of Satō Maoki whose friendship and kindness I relied on from pretty much the first day to the last.

It goes without saying however that without the openness, friendship and co-operation from Ainu in Tokyo and elsewhere this research would not have been at all possible. It is with the utmost respect and gratitude therefore that I thank members of all four Ainu associations in the capital region with whom I visited, spoke and socialized. In particular, I would like to express my thanks to: Ukaji Shizue, Urakawa Haruzo, Hoshino Takumi, Hasegawa Osamu, Hasegawa Yuuki, Uzawa Kanako, Sakai Minna, Hoshino Futoshi, Funada Eiichiro and all staff and regulars at the *Rera Cise*. I would like to especially thank Arai Michiko (and family) for taking me under their wing and for putting me up (as well as putting up with me) during some difficult times. In Hokkaidō, I am most grateful to Yūki Kōji and to the *Ainu Art Project* for not only welcoming me to their café, group events and social circle but also for allowing me to stay there when I was in Sapporo. Also in Sapporo, I would like to thank Sakai Aku for his kind generosity. In Asahikawa, Kawamura Kenichi graciously extended his hospitality to me whilst I was there and in Nibutani I extend my appreciation to Kaizawa Kōichi and family for putting up with a sick visitor. I hope that this thesis and future co-operation on projects and initiatives will go some way towards repaying their kindness.

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As one may gather from the list above, I have been fortunate enough to have met and become acquainted with a large number of people who have, in many different ways, opened 'my eyes wide'. In closing, however, I wish to reserve a special note of gratitude for two people who have not only opened my eyes but changed the way I see the world. The first is my supervisor, Pam Asquith. For over five years, her belief in this project has been unstinting, her encouragement has continually renewed my endeavours, and her character has served as an inspiration to me through the hardest of times. Her incisive intellect has set me an example of an academic life to which I continually aspire. It has, however, also been time spent outside of 'the thesis' either over home-cooked food with her husband Gary or during sojourns whilst in Japan that has drawn me, over the years, to regard her as both a collegial associate and friend. As a supervisor, I could think of no finer example.

Finally, but by no means least, there is my partner Cynthia Taylor. Through thick and thin, she has lived the whole research process with me and, without complaint, has sacrificed a lot in her own life for our future together. Year in year out, in yet another city or country, she has continually been there for me. If it were not for her unconditional love and support at all times I sometimes wonder if I'd have made it at all. She has taught me how to see the world anew by making me look more slowly at life; for everything, I am eternally grateful.

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Ainu in the City: Disjuncture and Indigeneity in Japan's Capital

The Enigma of Arrival

Although I arrived to Japan in early February 2002, the "experience" of fieldwork with Ainu, the Indigenous people of Japan,[1] only began weeks later on a cold, windy day as I edged closer towards a small art studio in a district on the outskirts of the southern industrial city of Osaka. I was in Japan courtesy of a postgraduate language scholarship from the Japan Foundation that provided me with generous accommodation and instruction at a new research institute situated across the shores from the Kansai international airport, around one hour outside of Osaka.[2] The four-month program offered a welcome opportunity to develop my intermediate language skills and lay the foundations for fieldwork "proper" that I anticipated would start in the late summer.

My proposed topic of research focused on the history and social dynamics of Ainu resident in and around the greater metropolitan region of Tokyo, an area known in

[1] Today, Okinawans or Ryūkūans are also being considered as an Indigenous people (Siddle 2003: 137-146). A case that is further strengthened by their ability to fit the definition of "Indigenous minority" as given in a landmark ruling passed down by the Sapporo District Court in March, 1997 (Stewart 2003: 408; for a wider discussion of this ruling see Levin 2001, Stevens 2001, Tsunemoto 2001, Uemura 1997). However, there are other Indigenous populations resident in Japan. Some Uilta still remain in Hokkaidō and under the guidance of Kitagawa Gentaro (1922-1984) the Uilta Association (*Uilta Kyōkai*) was established in 1975 and a documentation center founded in Abashiri (see Suzuki & Oiwa 1996: 93-99; also see Morris-Suzuki 2001b: 667-668). In Tokyo, a number of activists and members from Indigenous groups in Asia and Latin America are also resident and often work in co-operation with Ainu and other minority groups. To discuss the concept of 'Indigenousness' within contemporary Japan however, it is important to add the emergent identification of many Japanese regions with 'Jōmonjin' or people of the Jōmon era. Primarily derived from the work and theorization of Umehara Takeshi, former head of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies in Kyoto (referred to as *Nichibunken*), this position seeks to include rather than exclude the Ainu within the Japanese gene pool and contend a common legacy between the Jōmon and contemporary Japanese. For an extended discussion of the significance and implications of this issue, see Knight (2000).

[2] The focus of the scholarship was on developing my language ability with an emphasis on language proficiency for fieldwork. As an anthropologist this meant instruction in structured and unstructured interview techniques and related quantitative/qualitative research methods (questionnaire writing/analysis) paying particular attention to Japanese research styles, as well as the enhancement of proficiency in debate and oral presentation and critical analysis of Japanese academic literature. The scholarship also facilitated the collation of Japanese research materials and, most helpfully, aided as a pre-fieldwork measure in acquiring initial contacts for future research.

Figure 1.1: A map representing the traditional boundaries of the Ainu homeland and the conventional geographical focus of Ainu history. Taken from Siddle (1996: xi).

Japanese as *Kantō*.[3] I had first been introduced to this subject through a statement I came across (quite by accident) on the Internet some years previous authored by a group called

[3] In fact, the city of Tokyo no longer exists as it was officially abolished in 1948 to become *Tokyo-to* or Tokyo Metropolis. Today, definitions of 'Tokyo' vary according to usage (Cybriwsky 1991: 17-23). When referring to the 'City', it signifies the twenty-three neighbourhood wards that make up the metropolitan core. As *Tokyo-to* it refers to the twenty-three wards plus an extensive suburban and mountainous area to the west of the capital (known as Tama District) plus two groups of islands in the Pacific Ocean. Other definitions employed by planning authorities however are more expansive and relate more closely to the meaning of Tokyo within this thesis. The so-called Greater Tokyo Metropolitan Region, for example, includes *Tokyo-to*, plus the three surrounding prefectures of Chiba, Kanagawa and Saitama. The most extensive is the National Capital Region which includes the areas in the previous definition plus Yamanashi, Gunma, Tochigi and Ibaraki prefectures. For the purposes of this thesis, it is the latter of these definitions that I refer to as *Kantō*.

the 'Ainu International Network'.[4] The statement had been prepared for presentation at the sixteenth session of the United Nations' Working Group on Indigenous Populations (1998) in Geneva and described the challenges facing Ainu who moved down from the ancestral homeland of Hokkaidō to the mainland to live and work in the capital region. It included information regarding the history of Ainu self-organization in the capital that stretched back to the 1960s and reference to the results of a 1988 survey that indicated an Ainu population of 2,700 in the Kantō region, a demographic that if calculated on a national scale would account for approximately 17% of the "official" Ainu population. My interest in this facet of Ainu life and history that I had not come across in the academic literature developed over time into a thesis proposal, the scope of which represented a significant departure from normalized understanding of Ainu society as tied to Hokkaidō characterized in both public and academic spheres.

To provide a brief introduction that will help contextualize the circumstances of my 'arrival', the Ainu (meaning 'human' in the Ainu language) traditionally occupied an area that extended from Tōhoku (northern Japan) in the south to the lower regions of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands in the north (see fig. 1.1) (Uemura 2002: 10, Watanabe 1963: 1). Early attempts at racial classification based upon morphological analysis claimed that the Ainu were a Caucasoid race originating from central Asia (Refsing 2000a).[5] This theory was disputed by later genetic analysis that indicated the Ainu as being of Mongoloid origin (Akazawa et al. 1992, Yogo 2003). With the recent advent of the Bering Strait theory however (the pre-historic land bridge that joined East Asia to Alaska) and the discovery of Kennewick Man and Buhl Woman, Ainu are currently being discussed, controversially it must be added, as the first peoples to enter North America (Tokunaga et. al. 2001).[6] Alongside competing genetic theories that tie Ainu origins into

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[4] I would later realize that this group was comprised of six Kantō resident Ainu.

[5] Nazi scholars sanctioned by the leadership of the German Third Reich were famous advocates of this theory in their bid to find commonalities between the two Fascist powers of Germany and Japan (Kreiner 1993b: 50). Of course, the Caucasian theory stretches back to at least the mid-nineteenth century and played a role in the racial classification of many Indigenous peoples across the world. One useful study is McGregor's (1996) examination of Caucasian theory in the study of Aboriginal Australia from the 1890s to 1940s.

[6] This theory has drawn heavy criticism from many Native American groups and activists stating the intent on the part of scientists and authorities to undermine their autochthonous rights. As the Dakota writer, Vine Deloria, Jr has written: "By making us immigrants to North America [Non-Indians] are able to deny the fact that we were the full, complete, and total owners of this continent. They are able to see us simply as

the Melanesian migration of Ryūkyūan (Okinawan) and Australian Aboriginal populations, the greater part of contemporary opinion, for what it is worth, seems to point towards Ainu as the descendants of "some Upper Paleolithic populations who lived in East Asia and who genetically diverged from the majority of the present-day East Asians before the advent of the neolithic period" (Bannai et al. 2000: 138).[7]

Beyond such academic ambiguity that complies with what Radcliffe-Brown fittingly termed "conjectural history" (La Fontaine 1996: 255), scholarly opinion does converge around the fact that an identifiable Ainu culture emerged in the northern part of what is today recognized as the nation of Japan around the end of the Satsumon era in the twelfth century (Macé 1998: 38). From an archaeological perspective, the culture is thought to have moved through two stages of cultural development (see Hudson 1999a: 73-74) before the permanent colonial encroachment of Japanese into Hokkaidō in 1869 and the gradual colonization of Ainu lands that set about the historical transformation of Ainu society. Despite a tendency within academia to demarcate 'Ainu' as a northern field of study circumscribed by a fixed politico-geographical boundary the southern limits of which are normally considered to be defined by the Tsugaru Strait that separates Hokkaidō from the island of Honshū, the history of Ainu migration in the post-war era underlines the emergence of diasporic formations of Ainu society that have created new geographical contexts that challenge formalized representations of Ainu life tied to rural areas of Hokkaidō. This standpoint, an organizing principle of this thesis, presupposes the following edict: *to turn the focus of attention in Ainu affairs away from the north, and towards the mainland of Honshū and, in particular, the capital region, reveals the underlying logic that Ainu issues are not solely a Hokkaidō or 'regional problem' (chiiki mondai) at all but very much a* national *and indeed* international *issue.*

In the literature that I was able to survey prior to my departure for Osaka, I found little information regarding issues of urban migration, residential mobility, displacement and their effects on Ainu society.[8] This came as no great surprise. Since the inception of anthropology as an academic subject in Japan, analysis of Ainu society has been

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interlopers and therefore throw back at us the accusation that we had simply *found* North America a little earlier than they had" (Deloria 1995: 84 quoted in Harris-Taylor 2001: 24).

[7] For a broader review of Ainu origin theories, see Arutiunov (1999).

[8] Indeed, I later learnt from Japan Foundation staff that it had been the distinctive nature of this topic that had won me the scholarship opportunity usually reserved for non-Western applicants.

constrained to rural Hokkaidō and well-established topics of investigation such as archaeology, history (social, cultural and politico-economic), kinship, ethnology, linguistics, religion, ecological relations, traditional heritage and, in recent times, tourism (including Batchelor 1901, Chiri 1956, Haginaka et al. 1992, Hiwasaki 2000, Irimoto 1997, Kayano 2003, Kodama 1970, Kreiner 1993a, Miyajima 1998, Montandon 1937, Munro 1963, Ohnuki-Tierney 1974, 1981, Refsing 1986, Shibatani 1990: 1-85, Siddle 1996, Sjöberg 1993, Sugiura & Befu 1962, Tamura 2000, Utagawa 1980, Walker 2001a, Watanabe 1973, Yamada 2000). What did come as a surprise, however, was to discover a distinct lack of awareness about non-Hokkaidō resident Ainu at all.[9] In English, apart from a very brief article in the *New Internationalist* magazine dated 1995 (Naidoo 1995) and a couple of important pieces in ageing issues of the *AMPO: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review* (Chikap 1986, Kitahara 1993) I had determined that no material existed on the situation of Ainu in Tokyo.[10] At a more general level, what information on Ainu urban migration I did find (for example Kono 1999) seemed to reflect if not mirror the neo-classical posturing of Peng et al. (1974: 743-744) that addressed it as a source of social and cultural disruption that undermined the continuity of rural Ainu life and augured the "total assimilation" of Ainu into wider society. Under this pretext, Ainu, it was assumed, would not survive or, more importantly, not want to survive as Ainu in the city. The Ainu community of the future would only remain in rural areas (of Hokkaidō) and "consist largely of poorer individuals who cannot afford to migrate and a smaller sprinkling of wealthy individuals who will prefer to remain because of their accumulated prestige and wealth" (Peng et al. 1974: 744).

This formalistic representation of Ainu life was at odds with the history of urban migration towards Tokyo amongst Ainu and the conditions of self-organization that had emerged from the UN statement. In my attempts to survey the Japanese literature from Canada, initial inquiries made through a number of sources had run cold. All I had to go on was a rumor of a book that had been published in the early to mid-nineties on 'Tokyo

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[9] After all, Ainu did not only migrate to Tokyo but all over the country, especially to other major industrial centres like Osaka and Nagoya.

[10] For the most part, commentators have blindly followed the understanding of Yamashita et al. (2004: 9) that today Ainu "form a small minority in Hokkaidō alone". What little information there is seems to reside either in footnotes or incidental facts. For example, without directly assessing the situation of Kantō resident Ainu, Richard Siddle in his book the *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* (1996) makes numerous references to Ainu related historical events that took place in Tokyo during the 1960s and 1970s.

Ainu' that had since gone out of print. Needless to say, I had little idea about how I would set about making the necessary contacts in order to prepare for fieldwork. No-one I knew had any acquaintance with Ainu living in Tokyo although I had heard that several Tokyo-based academics were involved or, at the very least, sympathetic to their cause. The failure at further attempts of trying to find out information from Canada made me value the scholarship opportunity ever more, even if it was in Osaka.

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On that cold February day, after quickly dispensing with some ill-prepared directions, I eventually found my way through an endless network of narrow, winding streets to the art studio I had been invited to. Nervous, I paused in front of the sliding doors knowing this to be my first opportunity to meet with an Ainu. The previous evening I had made the acquaintance of a local businessman at a scholarship function who, upon hearing of my research interests, offered to "introduce" me to an Ainu artist from Hokkaidō whose exhibition was apparently only in the city for one more day. The symbolism of an Ainu exhibition in the city struck me as a particularly fortuitous way to start establishing some kind of informal network that I considered to be my only way forward at that stage. Questions busied my mind: Where had the artist stayed? Did they use this chance to meet with Ainu in Osaka? What kind of network made the exhibition possible? Did they travel to Honshū often? Was it different being an Ainu (artist) in a mainland city in contrast to Hokkaidō? What general impression/knowledge did they have of non-Hokkaidō Ainu? Beyond the initial buzz of enthusiasm however, I remained cautious. I knew of tensions that existed between scholars and Ainu and Ainu communities and assumed this would kindle deep-seated suspicion of my work as an anthropologist (see Cheung 2004, Siddle 1996: 160). My Japanese advisor had been keen to forewarn me of the "delicate" nature of Ainu research. Despite this inner disquiet however, I tried to remain optimistic, hopeful that the impending encounter with the artist would perhaps afford me with some kind of breakthrough that I could not anticipate.

As I stood outside the small wooden entranceway to the art studio, I checked my postcard one more time against the advertising for the exhibition that had been pinned to a board and placed in the street, obviously some time before it had started to rain. As I

looked down at my watch, the feint drizzle turned into larger raindrops and I noticed how quickly the afternoon had turned into early evening. I was twenty minutes early.

I was unsure whether to enter or not. On top of a growing anxiety, I had never had a good experience of being early in Japan, especially to what I perceived to be a 'formal' situation such as this. I always felt it caused undue anxiety on the part of the receiving party and placed an obligation on myself to explain my imposition and I was not prepared to risk giving any kind of bad first impression even if that meant I would have to walk around for a while in the rain. I rued the fact that I hadn't brought an umbrella but, at the same time, I quietly relished the opportunity to take some time and walk around the back streets. It was something I used to look forward to and do a lot when I had lived in Japan previously. I decided to return in fifteen minutes. As I walked however, it didn't take long to realize that this wasn't the Japan I had experienced five years earlier.

Admittedly, I hadn't lived in that particular area of Kansai before. Between 1997-1999, I had worked as an Assistant Language Teacher (ALT) on the government's Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme (JET) at an industrial/technical high school in a medium sized town in the southern region of Ishikawa prefecture, on the west coast of Honshū.[11] In geographical terms, the town had only been a four-hour drive to the north and west of Osaka, a journey I had made more times than I chose to remember. At the same time, however, it had been a different social and economic space. The pace of life in the town had been distinctly rural. The prefecture's economy relied heavily upon agricultural production, especially rice, although the manufacturing sector had grown to strongly outpace the primary industries in previous decades. Even teachers at my school, mostly trained industrial engineers, architects and electricians, would take early days during the planting and harvesting seasons to tend to their family fields. In actual fact, it had been there that I first learnt about Ainu. During Japanese language classes at a local volunteer centre, my instructor would often take me out of the classroom to visit local museums one of which detailed the history of the Noto Hantō, a peninsula in the north of the prefecture that juts out like a finger into the Japan Sea. Alongside a wide range of

[11] For an excellent insight into the history, politics and controversy surrounding the JET programme, see McConnell (2000).

archaeological data, the exhibit detailed the area's history and early modern maritime trade links with northern Japan and Ainu communities, evidence of which, I was told, remained in the continued preparation of several stew and salmon dishes similar to traditional Ainu fare, and etymological conjecture that suggested even the name 'Noto' derived from the Ainu word *nopo* meaning "set apart". Perhaps it had been this rather unconventional introduction to Ainu, from the perspective of the mainland that had made for me, years later, the proposed conflation of contemporary Ainu issues with the national landscape of Japan less of a contradictory proposition than it remained for the majority of Japanese.

As I bided my time, I wandered down and away from the noise and bustle of the main highways and on to the paths that stretched along the old waterway canals. The quietness that enveloped the area spoke of a different space. It didn't take long to realize that I had entered a cityscape that bore little resemblance to the Japanese city I knew from experience. As I walked further however, the surroundings grew to resemble the city that had formed in my imagination through readings. Self-made homeless shelters covered in various shades and quality of blue tarpaulin hugged the canal's concrete banks and stretched as far as the fading light allowed one to see. Occasionally, a silhouetted figure was hunched over a street garbage can; railings along the canal supported all kinds of bicycles. All the while, rush hour traffic on the brightly lit streets above carried on relentless. If, as Jean Baudrillard (2001: 40) has written, "[e]very city has its phenomenology", the scene I had stumbled into implied a more complicated conception of 'the way things are' in urban Japan. This scene contravened the conventional image of the Japanese city as a global, non-polarized space, lacking in 'social geography' (Fielding 2004).[12] It indicated a reality that belied the much wider, dominant spatial order of Japanese society articulated around images of homogeneity and sameness. Location in Japan obviously did matter.[13] For Ainu in the capital and other mainland cities, their

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[12] Fujita and Hill (1997), renowned scholars on the political economy of Japanese cities, perhaps best represent this perspective with their statement (ironically taken from a study of social segregation in Osaka) that "geography is not destiny in Japan" (1997: 129).

[13] Even though Japan has no particular image of itself as a multicultural society that of course doesn't mean that multicultural issues do not exist. As Paul Kelly writes: "All modern states face the *problems* of multiculturalism even if they are far from endorsing multiculturalism as a policy agenda or official ideology. They do so because they face the conflicting claims of groups of people who share identities and

location denied them access to special welfare assistance alongside other 'rights' that the government had introduced from the 1970s-on based upon the supposition that Ainu belonged in Hokkaidō. Be it in terms of class, occupation or some other social category, the city was a space within which Ainu lived and embodied a different kind of experience that challenged the dominant representation of 'the Ainu' as a rural, traditional, Hokkaidō dwelling people. Later – when I learnt of the lives of Ainu in the migrant labour ghettos of Tokyo and Nagoya and stories of discrimination and physical violence acted out against them – I came to think of the cityscape differently, as a socially differentiated space, one in which a whole range of ethnic and regional identities, ages and backgrounds mixed and intersected.

Ten minutes had passed. I turned and started to head back towards the studio. On the way, I re-prepared my lines of introduction and possible questions. Standing outside the wooden entranceway once again, I paused and gently rolled back the sliding door and entered the brightly lit space. Shoes were strewn about the entrance way but only two people were in the small room. One of them, my "contact", Mori-san[14] (the businessman from the previous evening) rushed over to say hello and introduced me to the other person, the studio owner. I was quickly informed of the artist's expected return after having just left to get something to eat. A little perturbed by the artist's absence – one configuration of 'what could happen' that I hadn't accounted for – Mori-san seized upon the opportunity to guide me around the room.

The artist's work was neatly arranged along three walls and tables and included wood carvings (*kibori*), craftwork and hand-woven tapestries. The pieces on display included traditional items such as *mukkuri* (mouth harp), *ike-pasuy* (prayer sticks), kimono, commodified curios such as plates and coasters as well as more artistic works that drew upon a wholly modern interpretation of traditional Ainu motifs (owl and salmon) and use of traditional materials (such as bark). Slim, orange stickers attached to certain pieces indicated items already sold. The exhibition characterized the elements of change that had come to shape contemporary Ainu culture. In "traditional" Ainu society, the activity of carving on wood had been embedded within the social and spiritual fabric

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identity-conferring practices that differ from those of the majority in the states of which they are a part" (original italics; Kelly 2002: 1).

[14] Mori-san is a pseudonym.

of everyday life. It was also a predominantly male activity and inextricably linked to the social structuration of the Ainu world along lines of gender, age and status that defined Ainu ethnicity at that time. The work on display not only characterized a cultural renaissance in Ainu craftwork that had emerged in the last half century through the work of several Ainu artisans who had orchestrated renewed belief in traditional crafts as a medium of expression about self and collective identity,[15] but it also reaffirmed recent interpretation of Ainu culture as a fluid and negotiated form of social practice, a critical challenge to normalized assumptions of Ainu culture as a pristine and bounded "thing" frozen in time (to pre-contact history) *and* space (to rural areas of Hokkaidō).

As I strolled around the small room, what the artist's work communicated to me, and what I felt my 'guide' was failing to pick up on, was the need to situate and approach Ainu "culture" differently, not as an 'object' but "as a process one attempts to monitor, trace and contextualise" (Munn 2000: 346). At a more general level, this had to be a first-step I felt in my wider research project on Ainu life in the city, one that abandoned the language of fixity, tradition and constraints to instead refigure Ainu life as a process of fluidity, dynamism and mobility.[16]

A few minutes before the artist returned, I stood before a full length kimono pinned to the wall. I marveled at the intricate stitch work. "That's a Nibutani design, you know," Mori-san said pointing to a particular area of the design. "How can you tell?" I asked, "well, each region has a distinctive pattern and after seeing so many they are easy to recognize," he looked around to query this further with the studio owner but upon hearing this she had busied herself in the corner; I sensed she would have reacted differently if asked how Ainu art faired financially in comparison to other exhibits. Unperturbed, Mori-san continued. "In the past, Ainu life had always been very regional, each region had their own design that they would sew onto their kimono (*kaparimip*),

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[15] For example, Sunazawa Bikky (1931 – 1989; as well as his mother Sunazawa Peramonkoro (1897-1971)), Kawamura Noriko (1947 –) and Fujito Takeki (1934 –) amongst others. For an excellent overview of 'Ainu Art' and its relationship to Ainu identity and history, see Dubreuil (1999); for a study on the effects of tourism on Ainu wood carving, see (Low 1976).

[16] The Princeton historian, David L. Howell acknowledges a similar position that needs to be taken by "non-Ainu" in order to understand the modern complexity of Ainu life. He writes: "The first step that we as non-Ainu must take to appreciate the challenges that face the contemporary Ainu is abandoning the conceit that there existed in the past an unchanging, pristine, "true" Ainu culture that can only be perceived in isolation from contact with Wajin" (Howell 2000a: xxvi).

leggings (*hosh*) and hand coverings (*tekunpe*). Even arrows and ceremonial tools would feature some kind of regional or family motif." Far from revelatory, this was general knowledge for even the most modest student of Ainu culture. What interested me however was the role regional affiliation had played in the establishment of four main Ainu associations in the Tokyo region. Regionalism, I felt, had an important bearing upon the urban Ainu situation. It indicated that the definition of "Ainu" was socially and geographically relative. Far from being "monolithic", as Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney (1976: 297) puts it, 'Ainu' and 'Ainu culture' were generalized terms that covered an intricate range of regional differences and disparate cultural histories. The unique demographic of Ainu in Tokyo made up of Ainu from all regions of Hokkaidō disrupted normalized ideas and preconceptions of the term "Ainu". This led me to ponder whether Tokyo was considered a legitimate region and *place* of Ainu life by Ainu and, furthermore, and perhaps more controversially, if the ethnonym 'Tokyo Ainu' circulated yet in popular discourse.

The sound of the sliding door indicated an arrival – I assumed it to be that of the artist. Set phrases of welcome and muffled conversation about the worsening weather filled the room. Mori-san ushered me to the other side of a coffee table situated in the middle of the exhibition space so to be in full view as the artist entered. I readied myself. Accompanied by family members, the artist entered. Dressed in a heavy winter coat, she briefly glanced at us and then passed by without any particular sense of obligation. I considered this a little odd. I had assumed that Mori-san had been an acquaintance of the artist. Enough, that is, to be able to request and gain permission to introduce a young, foreign researcher to her: I felt I had been "invited" after all. As I watched the artist and her entourage chat casually in the corner however, and Mori-san, standing next to me, trying rather clumsily to draw attention to himself, it suddenly dawned on me that my assumptions had been misplaced. Mori-san had no standing with the artist whatsoever. Cursing my naivety and the carelessness with which I had implicated myself in such an awkward situation, I sought to contrive an immediate escape but there was no time, the scene had already been set.

The studio was small and set up in such a way that the artist was unable to ignore Mori-san's inquiring look for too long. After an uncomfortable minute or so, the artist

finally felt compelled to approach. Following Japanese etiquette and the formalized exchange of pleasantries, Mori-san offered a brief explanation as to who I was and why we were there. While he spoke I attempted to gauge the artist's expression for any reaction, none was forthcoming. Once Mori-san had finished, the artist didn't respond but turned and looked at me in a rather aggrieved manner. I took that as a reaction. It was the studio-owner who motioned to us to be seated and supplied us with tea. Seated, I thought it best to introduce myself so, after complimenting her work that I was genuinely impressed by, I described my interest in researching the history and social dynamics of Ainu in the Kantō region. She spoke in short, hurried sentences. She said she knew nothing of any such topic and followed it with a little shake of the head that seemed to dismiss the idea as absurd. In the silence that followed, Mori-san prompted me to offer my *meishi* (name card) that I had yet to present. On the card, which the artist dutifully took and looked at was written my department, university affiliation and address at the Japan Foundation. "So you're an anthropologist, then?" she asked, in a voice that suddenly changed to a quicker, more definite tone. "Yes" I replied, I tried to interject that I knew what that meant and how I wasn't an "anthropologist" (*jinruigakusha*) in the way she perhaps understood, but she cut me short. "Then," she said politely, "I have nothing to say to you and I will not answer any further questions. Everything has been written already, there is *nothing* to research, if you want to know something about Ainu go to a library and read a book. Don't think of asking Ainu or me anything. Anthropologists have done enough harm as it is…".

Our "meeting" was over. She stood up, turned and went back to her family in the corner. My heart sank. Instinctively, a part of me shied away from the emotional intensity that had shaped her response and wanted to immediately leave. Mori-san, on the other hand, decidedly untroubled by what had happened, persuaded me to stay long enough to meet with a well-known zainichi Korean singer (who he did know) and a Buraku activist who dropped by to say hello to the artist before the exhibition closed.

Reconceptualizing 'The Field'

For days after the encounter, I remained confused and consumed by self-doubt. Frequent bouts of introspection prompted me to seriously question the feasibility of pursuing this

study. Of course, from a research perspective – or perhaps rather, in the way that I understood it at the time – the meeting had not provided any particular insight into the situation of Kantō resident Ainu, apart from the 'urban' context in which the meeting had taken place and the obvious fact that Ainu artists and sometimes their relations traveled with exhibitions to mainland urban centres. In attempts to stay focused, I surmised that in spite of the circumstances, the lack of an immediate response from the artist on the topic of urban Ainu, to the extent that the idea may have even seemed absurd to her, perhaps suggested that the situation was less of an issue for (at least some) Ainu and more contested than I had assumed (a point later borne out).

What the encounter had made evidently clear to me however was that any research focused on Ainu is invariably embedded within a much wider context of historical relations and social processes between Ainu and non-Ainu scholars that informs an established antagonism between insider/outsider in which the unapprised researcher invariably finds her identity fixed. Although I felt the contemporary orientation of the topic of "urban Ainu" transcended the politics of the colonial era that had been characterized by the scientific pursuit of Ainu racial origins, I had to assume that the reaction of Ainu in Tokyo would follow a similar line and recognize the possibility that, whatever the topic, my research would always be couched in much wider issues concerning history, ethics and the role of the "anthropologist" in Ainu affairs that needed to be addressed.[17]

In all truthfulness, it would have been much easier at the time to have taken the advice of several friends and simply put the encounter down to experience and ignore what had happened. After all, I felt the focus on Ainu life in Tokyo not Hokkaidō was socially and academically progressive and, in and of itself, representative of a different kind of anthropology. I hung on to the belief that all was not lost. I knew that despite the difficulties I expected to face in gaining access in Tokyo to what Kitagawa (2003: 285) terms "Ainu society" (*Ainu shakai*), one's "role" as a researcher is not a static position, but as with any identity is, as Lorna Gold puts it, "dynamic and could change over time and in relation to circumstances" (Gold 2002: 224). In order to affect control over my

[17] In conversation with several other young scholars engaged in research on Ainu issues, this issue came up time and again as something we had all experienced and been forced to contemplate.

identity however, I needed to learn from what motivated my chastisement. This realization quickly developed into a reflexive strategy in determining the 'politics of [my] location', of how I situated and understood myself in both time and space in relation to Ainu.[18] Furthermore, and in line with feminist theory, it involved a conscious effort on my part to move beyond assumptions of an "objective reality" based upon the distinction between subject-object to recognize the relations of power out of which an intersubjective relationship exists between researcher and researched, to appreciate the dialogue in which there exists "reciprocal influence and the mutual exchange of knowledge and experience" (Garko 1999: 170, Jackson 1998).[19] By accepting anthropological practice in this way, I found my "arrival" an inspiration towards rethinking not only the concept of 'work' in the field but also 'the field' itself.

Time and Space

Representative of the wider politics of contemporary anthropological practice, my encounter with the artist reaffirmed to me the rationale of ethnography as a condition of 'engagement'. I regard 'engagement' less in the way it is used within education as a form of positive dialogism (although ethnographic experience is always educational) than as a dialectic; as an unsystematic, fragmented and contingent mode of "confrontation" (Fabian 1996: 198-200), a kind of "praxis", as Tremlett puts it, "that transforms both self and other selves" (Tremlett 2003: 4). Johannes Fabian (1996) suggests that to address ethnography in such a way is disruptive in a double sense:

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[18] This epistemological shift is expressive of a long-standing shift in theoretical understanding informed by postmodern critique of how the scholar is particularly situated in the world. The collapse of the stringent and increasingly antiquated boundaries between the subject and object in anthropological theory and practice, aided by the highly regarded advent of Writing Culture (Clifford & Marcus 1986), has promoted the genuine possibility of a 'politics of location'. To echo Foucault (1991), anthropologists now recognize themselves and are recognized by others as being equally subject to the effects of cultural and political forces and thus particularly situated as "differentially embodied, gendered, and ethnic individual[s]" (Shusterman 1997: 179) within fields of social interaction energized by relations of power. This has made the study of "subjectivity" within anthropology today a focal point of analysis. "Subjectivity" not only of the Other "but also, and more centrally, that of ourselves as those who look upon and interpret the lives of others" (Bowman 1997: 34).

[19] Theoretically, to locate this perceptive moment on a wider stage draws our attention back to the self-confident emergence of the human sciences in the work of Dilthey and the neo-Kantian tradition, no longer premised on the natural scientific approach of people as objects, but on a humanistic desire to include people as both the subject *and* object of knowledge. The moment when, in the words of Michel Foucault, "man constituted himself in Western culture as both that which must be conceived of and that which is to be known" (1991: 345).

1) It de-centers the positivist rationale of early anthropology by recognizing the effect of power on 'the field' and fieldwork on both self and other (Tremlett 2003: 5). It disturbs the systematic structure of research projects based upon particular models of time – progress, evolution, growth etc. – that normalize the development of anthropological knowledge (see Shore 1999: 26). It also unravels the relations of power that temporalize space and affix meaning, often ontological in tone, to 'Other' space through the application of binary distinctions: periphery/centre, traditional/modern, rural/urban (Fabian 1983: 23-24; Appadurai 1988a).[20]
2) (and in line with the concern over boundaries that time evokes) when addressed as an open-ended and processual *experience*, fieldwork contests pre-conceived notions of the 'field' as a spatial domain, both in terms of a bounded and identifiable physical area to which one enters and leaves and as a circumscribed subject of research.

Time and Space therefore provide a useful structure with which to introduce and extrapolate upon the main points of this thesis through reflection upon my "arrival".

Beginning-in-Time: Contextualizing Knowledge and Fieldwork Methods

After several months had passed and I had left Japan in preparation for my return later that summer, the confrontational aspect of my "arrival" demonstrated to me what the emergence of the postmodernist posture in anthropology had determined long ago, that "it is no longer clear … where 'fieldwork' proper begins or ends" (Shore 1999: 26). This is not to disregard, however, the "unique quality" of being 'in the field', a time that, I think, most follow C.W. Watson in agreeing "indelibly impresses itself on the personality and self-understanding of an anthropologist" (Watson 1999: 2). Instead, this point of view regards field research less as a model or stage of scientific analysis than as a mode of experience (Lawless et al. 1983, Rabinow 1977). Approaching fieldwork in

[20] There is also a further element of anthropological time that refers to what the philosopher Ernst Pöppel (1978) terms "elementary time experiences" divided into aspects such as duration, order, past and present, and change. This is the level at which an awareness of time for the fieldworker is particularly acute. Travel, research schedules, funding constraints, physical and mental energy levels all constitute a variety of frames through which the presence of time is experienced.

experiential terms allows us to rethink the way we understand time spent 'in the field' as a "heightened" phase of a *much broader process* (Watson 1999: 2). As I have already alluded to above and as I develop in more detail below, to speak in these terms about 'the field' holds particular consequences for how we conceptualize the spatial domain of research activity. In terms of Time however, as Fabian would like us to think, it also means that one's 'arrival' *there* is not to be construed of as just the culmination of a physical journey, of relocation from one place to another; instead, 'arrival' denotes commencement, the beginning of an enigmatic process of emotional change and development (Gardner 1999, Naipaul 1987), what Alex Weingrod evocatively calls "one's anthropological life" (Weingrod 2004: 411). It also means that what a researcher experiences as an 'arrival' is not necessarily how the host culture may view it. Subject to decades if not centuries of official and academic inquiry, the host culture may view the researcher as yet '*another* arrival' invariably implicated in a much longer historical process. This is the case with Ainu.

Power, when understood as a principal social force of hegemony and oppression, is a fundamental element of knowledge with regard to the field of Ainu research that stretches back to the early modern era. Popular knowledge of the Ainu people began to develop as early as the twelfth century through the texts of travelers, scholars, merchants and officials who represented an increasing encroachment of mainland Japanese into Ezo (the name for the northern island before being renamed Hokkaidō [meaning 'North Sea Road'] by Meiji authorities in August 1869).[21] It was in the colonial transformation of Ezo from an unknown expanse to "internal colony" (Siddle 1997: 23) that science came to be used in Japan as a means of knowing the land and its people in order to establish hegemonic authority and control, a process that by the late Tokugawa era had popularized a growing awareness of Meiji ideals of modernization, civilization (*bunmei*) and national development (*kaitaku*) (Yaguchi 2000).[22] However, as Walker (1999: 125) has argued,

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[21] For access to primary resources of early modern writings by Europeans on the Ainu, refer to Kirsten Refsing's (2000b) five volume collection of travelogues and descriptions.

[22] The gradual relocation of the Ainu within a new geopolitical reality prompted a reworking of policy based upon Confucian political discourse that recommended a benevolent and caring attitude towards the Ainu in order to extend hegemony over the Northern lands (see Siddle 1996: 38-41). The new policy of 'enlightening' or 'civilizing' was importantly underpinned by the thoughts and representations embedded within the work of writers such as Honda Toshiaki (1744-1821), Mogami Tokunai (1754-1836) and Hayashi Shihei (1738-1793) all of whom shared the belief that it was the burden of the Japanese state to act

along with proposed Ainu welfare measures, authorities pursued medical programs in the same context as cultural assimilation in the belief that it would enhance the process of benevolent Japanization. This was to augur the direction of government policy in the coming century that situated Ainu as a 'subject' in a new way within the growing cultural and political imaginings of a national community.[23]

With the colonization of Ainu land by traders and officials from the time of the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and the wider absorption of Darwinism into scholarly circles during the 1880s, (the inspiration behind the forming of the Tokyo Anthropological Society [*Tokyo Jinruigakkai*] in 1884), [24] Ainu became popularly represented in contemporary literature as hairy, primitive and a significantly ethnic Other (Cheung 1995: 241-247, 1996, Ohnuki-Tierney 1998). By the end of the nineteenth century, at a time when scientific influence started to help inspire Japanese scholars in their concerted efforts to solidify a Japanese national identity, scientific knowledge of the Ainu became embedded within a pursuit of a 'science of culture' that as with other imperial nations at the time positioned research of its native people within uniform theories of socio-biological development, race and eugenics (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999: 1-78). Japanese academic discourse became prevalent with images of the Ainu as a by-gone "dying race" (*horobiyoku minzoku*) inherently inferior to the Enlightened, modern, progressive Japan (Siddle 1996). Such representations popularized the dominant social and political narrative of Ainu as a lesser class of citizenry within the new national community.[25] It

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as a Great Sage to the culturally impoverished and backward Ainu. Enlightenment, therefore, entailed the "Japanization" of customs and culture (see Takaki 1994).

[23] Interest in transforming the individual Ainu body during Tokugawa rule through Jennerian vaccinations and state-sponsored medicine had its counterparts throughout the Imperial world. On the uses of imperial medicine in colonial Africa and Asia-Pacific, David Arnold has argued that "medical intervention impinged directly upon the lives of people, assuming an unprecedented right (in the name of medical science) over the health and over the bodies of its subjects" (1988: 18). This opinion had been underlined earlier by Foucault (1973) in his argument that early modern European states extended their hegemonic power over the population through certain medical practices that transformed individual social and moral relationships within society.

[24] The first translation of Herbert Spencer's human evolutionary theories into Japanese appeared in 1884.

[25] In the Family Registration Law of 1871, for example, the Ainu were redefined by the political doctrine of the nation-state as 'commoners' (*heimin*) and their traditional identity further censored by the use of the term *kyūdojin* meaning 'former aborigine' as an added entry in the same law (Hanazaki 1996: 120-121). In 1899, the government expounded upon the latter term by enacting the *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin Hogohō* (The Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act) which effectively erased any Indigenous claims to land or custom thereby writing the Ainu out of their own history and into a unified historical narrative of the homogeneous Japanese family. I return to this matter in more detail below.

also saw to it that Ainu inferiority became institutionalized within the framework of the Hokkaidō Former Natives Protection Act (*Hokkaidō Kyūdojin Hogohō*) passed in 1899 that dispossessed Ainu of their lands and traditional livelihoods (Siddle 1997: 23).[26]

During much of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, anthropology was implicated in the "scientization" of Ainu society and its governance (cf. Drori et al. 2003: 97) most keenly felt through policies of assimilation, which transformed Ainu life into a political struggle contesting the fundamental right to existence. Of course, anthropology was not alone in its employment of institutional power nor, indeed, solely responsible for the marginalization of Ainu within society. Yūki Shōji (1938-1983), a prominent Ainu activist during the 1960s and 1970s, reflected upon this by writing that the struggle for Ainu (and Indigenous) liberation from the bonds of science was not only against the activities of colonial scholars and bureaucrats who entered local communities but also, and at times more pressingly, against modernist history and the ideological rationale that underpinned scientific theory and public policy (Yūki 1997: 18-19). Nevertheless, the level of exploitation that anthropologists brought on Ainu communities during this era – acts ranging from grave robbery to physical and mental abuse of Ainu (Bogdanowicz 2005) – was such that the term 'Ainu Studies' (*Ainu gaku*), a founding sub-field of the discipline of anthropology in Japan, is rarely referred to today in the academic literature due to implicit recognition of its legacy as a particular expression of colonial subjugation.[27]

On the whole, what the history of anthropological inquiry into Ainu society has demonstrated is the 'agentive' role of knowledge in enabling certain policies of

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[26] This history of the social, economic and political incorporation of Ainu into the Japanese nation-state reflects their location alongside other marginalzed groups as being in what Kirsten Refsing terms "*in*, but not *of*, Japanese society" (original italics; Refsing 2003). For the content of the 1899 law, see Appendix 1.

[27] In his moving autobiography, *Ainu no Ishibumi* (Our Land Was a Forest: An Ainu Memoir [1994]) the Nibutani Ainu elder Kayano Shigeru describes his personal contempt for "scholars of Ainu culture". In one memorable passage, he writes: "There were a number of reasons I hated [scholars]. Each time they came to Nibutani, they left with folk utensils. They dug up our sacred tombs and carried away ancestral bones. Under the pretext of research, they took blood from villagers and, in order to examine how hairy we were, rolled up our sleeves, then lowered our collars to check our backs and so on" (1994: 98). Historically, ethics had not been an issue for academics interested in researching Ainu society. When I asked my Japanese advisor the reason why no sustained research existed on the issue of Ainu in Tokyo, he answered that after the political activism of the late 1960s and 1970s, during which time the Ainu movement had been appropriated by extremist left-wing groups and terrorist cells and prominent scholars as well as public figures had been publicly denounced by Ainu leaders as racists, Japanese researchers, it seemed, were "quite content to let sleeping dogs lie" (Henry Stewart 2001, personal communication).

governance. As Hobart puts it: "[particular accounts of knowledge] define the objects, or subjects, of that knowledge, empower some people as being able to know but others as not and determine what counts as knowledge itself" (Hobart 1995: 50).[28] To address the role of knowledge within the field of Ainu research in this vein elucidates the strategies of power that scholars used to situate Ainu in a lesser, somehow objectified space in relation to themselves and empirical knowledge of their "dying" condition.[29] In a sense, the rationale of this thesis explores an aspect of Ainu history and society that has been marginalized by researchers up until this point in some part because the historical and social dynamics that contribute to the situation of Ainu in non-Hokkaidō urban areas subverts the "framing" of Ainu within particular contexts that have meaningfully structured knowledge of Ainu not only within the world of academia but also in Japanese society (cf. Miller & Ross 2004: 246). When addressed from the perspective of academic research, the situation of Kantō resident Ainu represents what I would like to term a *disjunctive* site of analysis that resists, contests, and challenges normalized assumptions of Ainu identity and society organized around principles of tradition, culture and parochialism.

Disjuncture and Indigeneity: Ainu in the City

As an idiomatic expression, 'disjuncture' represents a formalized dynamic that informs multiple levels of this thesis. As I have already pointed out, at a foundational level, this

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[28] In applying this issue to the politics of anthropological practice, Les Field's (2003) work in collabouration with the Muwekma Ohlone people of southern California offers a useful point of reference especially in terms of the differentiation he makes between "official anthropology" and "academic anthropologists". Field develops this distinction out of his own position as a cultural anthropologist and "tribal ethnologist" employed by the Muwekma Ohlone tribe attempting to undo the work of early twentieth century anthropologists who helped "legitimate the disenfranchisement of Ohlone peoples" (Field 2003: 79). In his attempt at extricating himself from this predicament – of an anthropologist re-evaluating the work of anthropologists with anthropology – he seeks to distinguish between the applied integrity of his work and the complicity of "official anthropology" within systems of power that has enabled the U.S. nation-state, over time, to classify and categorize native identities (Field 2003: 80). The effects that this unequal relationship of power has brought on native communities, he concludes, has defined the limits to which Indigenous peoples are willing to work with anthropologists. Although Field's work is a contextual analysis of the situation in the U.S. (a point underscored by other work that circumscribes the differences with Latin American anthropology (see Field 1999, 2002)) it is relatively easy to draw the similarities with the situation of Ainu research in Japan.

[29] In adopting this stance, I recognize the popular postmodern critique that the effacement of the researcher's ego from empirical science is, in effect, an "*act* of power" and emblematic of the way in which scientific fieldwork set itself apart from colonial systems by claiming apolitical status (Clifford 1997: 65).

study represents a distinct departure from the development of academic knowledge about Ainu thus far and the set of normalized assumptions that informs the majority of Ainu research. Of course, in light of the politics of contemporary anthropology (in the West) this is not an original position.[30] Since the epoch of *Writing Culture* (Clifford & Marcus 1986) or further back still to the work of the sociologist Alvin Gouldner (1970),[31] the anthropologist has been swept along, frequently kicking and screaming, by flows of "post-" critique that have re-examined her discipline's modern roots and her place in a world characterized by "partial truths" (Clifford 1986). Indeed, anthropologists are now considered to be living and working in an era that the African anthropologist Archie Mafeje (1998) has termed "post-anthropological". A period characterized by its conscious exorcism of former colonial demons and purposeful movement beyond the symbolic, material and epistemological politics of the native Other. The assertion is that with the Other now dead, anthropology can be considered constitutive of a different project from that of exotic encounters with non-Western peoples colored by colonial ideology.[32]

As a 'post-anthropological' research initiative, of which this thesis can be considered representative, knowledge is defined *relationally*. This means that knowledge is not regarded as an 'object' to be possessed and controlled but as a 'social phenomenon' that "emerges from a dialogical field" (Hastrup 2004: 456). Such an approach challenges the positivist basis upon which colonial anthropologists once reified Ainu society as a 'field' in itself, with a relationally informed approach to Ainu life that foregrounds an engaged interest in some kind of political, social or economic problem (cf. Willis 1997:

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[30] Such a theoretically informed reflexive position remains largely absent within Japanese scholarship regarding Ainu affairs. However, notable exceptions would include Hirayama's (2000) pedagogical treatise on Ainu education as well as Kinase's (2004, 2005) recent work on Ainu and cultural theory.

[31] Gouldner hoped that a greater awareness of the researcher's own self as a social being in-the-world would, as he put it, "help produce a new breed of sociologist who can better understand other men and their social worlds," a form of reasoning that would allow future students and tutors alike "to - at the very least - acquire the ingrained *habit* of viewing our own beliefs as we now view those held by others" (original italics; Gouldner 1970: 489).

[32] Regardless, however, of the extent to which one has faith in the notion of a "post-anthropological era", it is important to make clear that, as the role of Ainu anthropology in history shows, the debate focused on representation as a political activity in anthropology remains part of a much wider critique of the status of anthropology as an academic discipline. Anthropology may well have fostered an unparalleled respect and certain reverence for the diversity of the human condition, but the discipline has never been able to escape the fact that it was "established within the context of a political project by one civilization to enforce cultural homogeneity across the world" (Quinlan 2000: 127).

186). For me, the situation of Ainu in Tokyo epitomizes this point as it characterizes issues that do not belong to the traditional image of Ainu research. It has also underlined my interest in understanding the 'urban experience' of Ainu that although individually divergent is nevertheless embedded within social relations not only in Tokyo but also with Hokkaidō and other places as well.

I do not wish to get caught up in 'over analysis' of the politics of anthropological practice but instead seek to use it to contextualize the wider points of departure that characterize this study. This is, in and of itself, a position that explores the potential of contemporary anthropology in light of criticism from both inside and outside of the discipline that regards its 'crises' (of representation, authority, legitimacy etc.) as signifying the end to its relevance as an academic discipline. As Anna Tsing has put it, to move beyond a solipsistic analysis of disciplinary politics and explore the inherent capabilities of 'postcolonial anthropology' (what Mafeje would perhaps term 'post-anthropological anthropology') "depends upon engagement with the questions and challenges raised by those concerned with cultural heterogeneity, power, and "marginality"" (Tsing 1993: 14). With regard to the distinctive features of this thesis, one way to do this is through the politics of space.

It is now well established that the presumption of the world as divided up into autonomous spaces in which different nations, peoples, tribes are distributed, conceals the topographies of power that have throughout history demarcated the identity of certain places. With regard to Indigenous communities, articulation of what Malkki (1997) terms "sedentarist metaphysics" points to the relations of power that have repeatedly cast Indigenous societies as inherently immobile, traditional and inferior in comparison to metropolitan and urban centres. These differences in space were more often than not conceptualized in reference to time. Terms that divided geographical space into quantifiable stages of progress such as 'civilization' or 'modernity' were always implicated in locating other peoples and other cultures along a hierarchical axis of historical development. Difference became represented as a particular, slower version of the hegemonic self (Massey 1999: 271-272). Early representations of the Ainu borrowed from Chinese cartography adopted such a mode of spatial-temporal organization by depicting Ainu as "barbarians" located at the periphery of the (civilized) world (Morris-

Suzuki 1994: 10; 1996: 82-86). As time progressed, the image of the Ainu became frozen in time and space and formed the foundation for colonial discourses of development based upon temporally informed distinctions between centre/periphery, culture/nature, civilized/primitive.

Today of course, the spatial critique of anthropological analysis is now well-established. Gupta and Ferguson (1997) explain how classical anthropological approaches to "local" difference were based on the assumption that certain cultures belonged in certain places. The production of "ethnographic maps", they suggest, allowed anthropologists and colonial officials a way of illustrating the territorial boundaries between distinct tribal groups, utilizing space as a "kind of neutral grid on which cultural difference, historical memory, and societal organization is inscribed" (Gupta & Ferguson 1997: 34). Jean-Guy Goulet (2001: 152) in his examination of the disparity between Dene and non-Dene representations of Dene epistemology and life, has picked up on this point to argue that maps were used by anthropologists "to mediate between specific external facts and general statements about these facts" allowing anthropologists to declare with confidence: "'Look, this is where the Dogrib live, 'This is where the Slavey live'". "This rhetorical device," he goes on to say, "goes hand in hand with the process of reification" providing researchers with the necessary evidence to state that "tribes are real entities in the world that can be studied empirically" (Goulet 2001: 152).[33]

Since the decline of the "Cartesian spatial order" (Genocchio 1995) within anthropology however, a new perspective associated with the language and theory of flows and networks, has set about dismantling the framework of traditional anthropological analysis based upon a view of the world made up of discrete and stable societies. This shift in approach has facilitated efforts to reconceptualize 'the field' of anthropological inquiry in relational terms as a site of social convergence (Gille 2001). The "assumed isomorphism of space, place, and culture" (Gupta & Ferguson 1997: 34), once the bedrock of anthropological science, is now the basis upon which we challenge

[33] Of course, the irony is that many Indigenous groups have embraced this spatial partitioning as part of on-going campaigns arguing for legal recognition as "Indigenous" and related rights to land and natural resources. One of the complexities with this however is that it very often excludes members of the community who have moved, for example, to urban centres.

the processes that (mis)represent the Other in anthropological discourse. The "confinement" of the archetypal Native to the "circumstantiality of place" (Appadurai 1988a: 38) within anthropological texts is now commonly considered to be an effect of power. The conceptual shift in social theory towards the "spatialization of culture" has played an important role in rethinking 'the field' and, therefore, reformulating contemporary views of fieldwork. As a result of this critique, naturalized ideas of "Native space" – the conventional 'field' of anthropological research – predicated on the empirical reality of fixed, bounded and discontinuous societies have become commonly regarded as constructions of knowledge (Appadurai 1988a).

Nevertheless, research on urban Indigenous peoples has yet to catch up fully with such contemporary theorization. The disjunctive spatial politics of Ainu in Tokyo characterizes the broader situation of Indigenous peoples in urban areas whereby Indigenes are regarded by dominant society as being out-of-place and thus not representative of an authentic identity because of it, a matter that holds particular repercussions in terms of legal rights and privileges. Of course, at the same time, disjuncture reflects the reality of the urban experience for many if not the majority of urban Indigenous peoples whose experience of city life is not necessarily defined by their ethnic identity. As Vered Amit has elabourated on in her research with ex-pat communities in the Canary Islands, disjuncture plays a significant role in the structure of postcolonial and diasporic communities. Where the main area of attention in contemporary research has been focused on the degree of continuity that exists within diasporic communities with 'home' areas, significantly less attention has been paid to the motivations of those who choose not to maintain contact with 'home' or of those who do maintain contact but in a wholly personal, less communal way.

The situation of Ainu in Tokyo is indicative of this sense of disjuncture. Despite the statistic of 2,700 Ainu that derives from the 1988 Tokyo government sponsored survey – a figure that most Ainu today put closer to 5,000 – the overwhelming majority do not take part in social or cultural events. Either out of choice or necessity, restricted by a hectic working and/or family life for example, only a maximum of 40 Ainu are "active" in the sense of being consistently involved in organizational activities, cultural classes or social events. Nevertheless, although the number of "active" Ainu represents

only a very small percentage of the total population, the visible dynamics of the few Ainu upon which this thesis is largely based is representative of a much wider reality of urban Ainu life. The disjunctive form that shapes Ainu society in Tokyo highlights the range of identities that intersect Ainu as a signifier of personal identity. What I mean by this is that for many Ainu in the capital life as a mother or father, factory worker or businessman, wife or husband etc. often overshadows social attachment to one's ethnic background especially in a city as vast and busy as Tokyo. I explore aspects of Ainu identity and the politics of hybridity in more depth in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 but the pluralistic theme that hybridity denotes provides a good example of how disjuncture can be viewed as otherwise defining a range of different conjunctures. Rethinking what was once considered the "edges" or "borders" of Indigenous worlds as a new space of Indigenous identity, culture and social life highlights the intersection of many different influences. From the perspective of the urban experience, the most important conjuncture of all is that of the local, regional and global.

The conventional approach to Ainu society based upon a disjunctive metaphor of "region" has overlooked important routes of modern social fluidity most commonly defined by patterns of Ainu migration but also by the movement of traditional and material objects, that have transgressed and, importantly, redefined the boundaries of Ainu society (cf. Urry 2000: 191). These routes are important in their own right and represent an important example of the "stretching" of Indigenous life in current times beyond the social, cultural and regional boundaries that characterize traditional societies (Massey 1994, Wilson and Peters 2005). Research focused solely on the local aspects of Ainu life hinders recognition of the modern complexity of Ainu lives woven into the dynamics of a new social space of "indigeneity" intersected by issues of displacement, movement and migration that presuppose the conjunction of local, regional and global pathways (Clifford 2001). Primarily, this thesis explores the ways in which those levels of analysis come together and shape the contours of social, political and cultural life for Ainu in the capital. From the locality of hometown affiliation that Ainu have reproduced in the city and the development of new diasporic relationships with Hokkaidō that have come from it, to the emergence of a fledgling identity as Tokyo Ainu and on into the little known history of regional and international co-operation with other Indigenous peoples,

this thesis explores the many dimensions of urban Ainu life and how it relates to urban Indigenous spaces elsewhere.

Fieldwork Methods: Putting Texts in Context

In terms of an introduction, it is customary to include a note on methods used during fieldwork. From a practical perspective of preparing for a field of study that had not been addressed in any particular depth before and bearing in mind the political sensitivities of Ainu research, my first step was to ensure that I received proper introductions to Ainu in the capital region. This rationale had guided my decision at a much earlier stage in my program to contact a professor of anthropology at Showa Women's University in Tokyo who was the only contact I knew of who had connections with Ainu in the capital region having published work on Ainu identity, history and contemporary issues. Through his offices I was able to establish a visiting research position at the university's Institute of International Culture (April 2002-April 2004) and make a number of valuable contacts with Japanese scholars. However, it became increasingly clear that a profound sense of hesitation existed on the part of academics I met when seeking to directly contact Ainu on the basis of a research project. With regard to the history that existed between Ainu and anthropologists, these responses reminded me of how the professor had previously described the general consensus amongst (mostly) senior Japanese scholars on Ainu issues as one of 'letting sleeping dogs lie'.

The way I eventually gained an introduction to Ainu in Tokyo was through Terachi Goichi, the Dean of Business Administration at the Tokyo School of Economics. Whilst I had been at the Japan Foundation research institute in Osaka, a colleague in Hong Kong had put me in touch with Terachi who had been involved with Ainu in Tokyo since the early 1990s and often helped out with Ainu events and organizational affairs. Before leaving the language institute in Osaka, I flew to Tokyo to meet with him. At his suggestion, we met at Nakano station in western Tokyo and had lunch at the *Rera Cise*, the only Ainu restaurant in Tokyo, located nearby. Little did I know at the time but as the months and years of fieldwork passed and I became better integrated into the patterns and events of social life in the capital, the path I took to the *Rera Cise* that day would become

one I would also use to introduce Japanese friends, acquaintances and foreign visitors to Ainu life in Tokyo.

Over a lunchtime "special" that included deer sashimi and baked pumpkin amongst a variety of other Ainu dishes, Terachi clarified what I had determined to be the five main aspects of Ainu history in Tokyo:

i) the history of self-organization that had produced four principal Ainu organizations in the capital region: *Peure Utari Kai* (Young Utari Association, est. 1964), *Kantō Utari Kai* (Kantō Utari Association, est. 1980), *Rera no Kai* (Ainu Association of Wind, est. 1983), *Tokyo Ainu Kyōkai* (Tokyo Ainu Association, est. 1997);

ii) the establishment of cultural and social spaces for and by Ainu such as the restaurant in Nakano and Ainu Culture Exchange Center (*Ainu Bunka Kōryū Sentaa*) set up opposite Tokyo station by the government in 1997;

iii) two Tokyo government sponsored socio-economic surveys on Ainu in Tokyo conducted in 1975 and 1988;

iv) the creation of an Ainu welfare and employment officer attached to the Metropolitan Employment Security Office of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government;

v) and finally, numerous monthly Ainu events in the capital region ranging from the performance of traditional ceremonies to lectures and workshops.

Despite these five main aspects of the Ainu situation in Tokyo, Terachi confirmed that there was no generally recognized literature on Ainu in Tokyo apart from three books: a collection of photographs by a professional photographer on Ainu in Tokyo published in 2001 and provocatively entitled *Ainu tokidoki Nihonjin* ('Ainu, but sometimes Japanese'); a 1997 book put together by the Ainu Association of Wind, the organization that led the campaign to establish the restaurant, that included interviews with Ainu as well as an introductory history to the founding of the restaurant; and finally, a collection of seven oral histories of Ainu in Tokyo called *Shoppai kawa – Tokyo ni ikiru Ainutachi* ('The Salty River: Ainu living in Tokyo'; the book about which I had previously heard

rumours) published in 1990 by Ogasawara Nobuyuki, a journalist from the *Hokkaidō Shinbun*. Beyond these, very little detailed information was thought to exist on Ainu in the capital. A position that reflected the wider lack of interest/awareness regarding the situation.

To address the issue of research materials for a moment, in contrast to these expectations, I was eventually to find a fairly wide range of references that dealt with the situation of Ainu in Tokyo. In fact, as fieldwork progressed I uncovered a variety of sources of information. Admittedly, they were often hard to find, booklets that Ainu organizations had published themselves perhaps, or a sentence or paragraph embedded within texts on other subjects of Ainu history or sometimes even whole articles buried in little known journals and magazines as well as columns in regional and national newspapers, nevertheless, over a period of time, I discovered a modest but important literature. I came to ponder why so many people I met and communicated with had questioned the existence of any such literature and with it the veracity of the topic itself. I felt this reflected a much larger point with regard to the scope or ambition of my approach. After all, the aims of my research were going beyond the general characterization of Tokyo as a site of Ainu social relations that, although revelatory to the majority of Japanese, had already been established in previous work. Instead, I was aiming to provide the first critical overview, an "abstract discourse" if you will (Olwig 1998) of Ainu sociality in the capital that would historicize and better contextualize the relational complexities of Ainu life in the city. This required a broad if only ever 'partial' understanding of what it meant to be Ainu in Tokyo. The methods used to acquire this understanding were shaped by the character of the literature. After all, the unique thing about the comparative lack of academic interest in the subject was it left Ainu and their Wajin supporters to write about their own experiences and history in Tokyo. As I grew better acquainted with the literature, I tried to put these texts within some kind of historical, social or political context through conversation with Ainu, a strategy that underpinned the dialogical processes of fieldwork. Of course, in chronological terms, before I was even particularly aware of the need to do this, I faced the daunting prospect of making contact with all four groups in the region, which brings me back to my meeting with Terachi.

Terachi offered my first introduction to the founder of the Tokyo Ainu Association the very first night I arrived back in Japan in late August 2002. The first couple of months I spent following up on these contacts through a number of Wajin supporters. Supporters play an integral role in helping to maintain the dynamic structure and utility of social networks in the capital that facilitate Ainu in their efforts to put on events, plan trips, etc. Many whom I met had been involved in the Ainu movement in the capital and/or Hokkaidō for over ten years and along with trying their best to participate in and support Ainu at events, had assisted Ainu in a variety of ways during that time. In my first few months of fieldwork however, it soon became apparent to me that opportunities to meet with Ainu were to be few and far between and almost exclusively limited to participation at "events" that I would hear about. By "events" I refer to a range of activities from traditional ceremonies to lectures and workshops that Ainu either lead or are otherwise involved in. During the first six months of fieldwork, I made a concerted effort to attend every "event" I was able to find out about, as well as to frequent the Ainu Culture Exchange Center and the *Rera Cise* restaurant as often as possible. This became a pattern of fieldwork activity that continued throughout my period of research. Although in the 'early days' of research I was unable to gauge the value of such a strategy, I came to quickly recognize people who would appear at events. Later, based on knowledge of what organization or group was sponsoring the event it became second nature to predict who would show up. Over time, such recognition was reciprocated and interest in who I was and what I was doing at these events became a topic of interest and intrigue for a number of Ainu who I gradually came to know first as acquaintances and then later as friends.

Beyond the constraints and pressures of everyday life that Ainu had to negotiate in order to fit in participation at events, the observable patterns of attendance, of who appeared when and at what event, made it clear that a certain degree of antagonism (amongst Ainu and some supporters) existed along personal and political lines. In order to achieve an adequate level of research for this thesis I tried my utmost to bridge such divides and participate in as wide a variety of events as possible. Of course, some groups were easier to develop a rapport with than others. As the *Rera Cise* offered a public space I found myself drawn there more and more to the extent that I was invited to

accompany the group on trips up to Hokkaidō on two occasions that provided important insight into the diasporic relationships that characterize contemporary Ainu life. Time spent at the *Rera Cise* as well as at their private "after hours" drinking parties and sponsored events made me realize the importance participation and attendance played in gaining access into the group's activities. After my first year or so of knowing staff and members of the *Rera Cise* I was told by an Ainu that the only reason I had begun to be personally invited to events, trips and other occasions was because I showed a dedicated interest in their activities and a level of support that the group appreciated. Also, the fact that I didn't presume any air of self-importance regarding my research by asking questions outright but instead took every opportunity to drink, eat and engage in conversation with Ainu about everything and nothing and act more like a "supporter" than as a "researcher" greatly enhanced my acceptance.

The basis of my fieldwork material therefore was based upon attendance at group meetings, organized trips on many occasions with both the Ainu Association of Wind and the Tokyo Ainu Association, as well as at organizational meetings, events and group activities. I was able to join the Kantō Utari Association's monthly sewing class that provided insight into the organization of cultural activity in the capital as well as develop a small but important network of relations with Ainu who did not belong to any group or faction. At different parts of the thesis I provide more detailed examples of fieldwork activity as it becomes appropriate to do so.

Thesis Structure

The central focus of this thesis articulated around issues of urban Ainu (Indigenous) migration and mobility represents a new avenue of research regarding Ainu society. It is not my intention therefore to provide a description of Ainu culture per se which is adequately and well covered in previous publications but rather explore the contemporary situation of urban Ainu through the broader context of the 'urban Indigenous experience'. This rationale reflects the structural division of this thesis into three parts: Part One – *The Urban Context*; Part Two – *Tokyo: an Ainu City*; Part Three – *Conclusion: Rethinking Indigenous Studies*. In Part One, I offer a broad review of studies addressing urban social dynamics and the situation of Indigenous peoples in urban areas in order to track the

substance and direction of an emergent analytical and conceptual framework directed at understanding better the characteristics and dimensions of urban Indigenous populations. First (Chapter 2), I analyze how the "introverted" representation of Indigenous places within contemporary academic, governmental and popular discourse more often than not fails to adequately address the relational complexity of Indigenous localities being opened up by urban networks. To assume the demise of social groupings outside of traditional homelands, I contend, ignores the histories of political and cultural organization amongst Indigenous peoples in urban areas and the emergence of new social spaces of identity. I build on this position in the following chapter (three), to reflect upon the structure and content of three recent studies of urban Indigenous issues that are, to my knowledge, the only studies (in any language) to attempt to forge an international comparative perspective on urban Indigenous peoples (re: Aoyagi & Matsuyama [1999a; in Japanese], Dahl & Jensen [2002a] and Bell & Taylor [2004a]). After discussing the broader theoretical implications arising from these edited collections, I propose an alternative approach to urban geographies of Indigenous identity based on the concept of diaspora.

In Part Two, I develop issues of space, place and diaspora raised in Part One within the context of the history and contemporary social dynamics of Ainu in Tokyo. In Chapter 4, I determine the framework for a history of Kantō resident Ainu. I suggest that, in line with the representation of Indigenous peoples elsewhere, conventional narratives of Ainu history have been informed by a normalized trope of *place*, *people*, *community* that has had the effect of marginalizing geographical difference within Ainu society. By opening up historical analysis to the situation of Ainu in the capital region, I assert that it is imperative to replace this trope with one focused on issues of *culture*, *identity* and *collectivity*. With this in place, I address the embedded character of Ainu life and cultural identity within varying networks of relations stretching beyond the boundaries of local Ainu "communities" through time and how Ainu life lived in urban areas represents a natural extension of such history.

In the following chapter (five), I pick up on a differentiation I make at the end of the previous chapter between pre-war (colonial – *travel*) and post-war (cosmopolitan – *migrancy*) forms of Ainu movement towards the capital by examining in detail the post-

war history of Ainu self-organization in the Kantō region. In presenting this, the first detailed examination of Ainu sociality in Tokyo, I assess how collective Ainu events and individual circumstances in the capital reflect and underscore issues of diaspora, identity and collectivity. The next three chapters develop this perspective further by analyzing different "places" of Ainu activity in the region and how they serve to "implace" Ainu within the geography of the capital. The first "place" I analyze is the government run Ainu Culture Exchange Center (*Ainu Bunka Kōryu Sentaa*) (Chapter 6). This provides an example of the contested politics of place with an urban appraisal of the government's Ainu Cultural Promotion Act passed in 1997. In this chapter, I show how Ainu attempt to work within the limits of the law and appropriate the space of the Center for their own purposes. In the next chapter (7), I develop this notion of "implacement" further through ethnographic analysis of how Tokyo is being remapped on Ainu terms and as part of an ever evolving Ainu world known as *Ainu Mosir* in the Ainu language. I explore, especially, the role ceremonies play in this process and, as a particular example, focus on an *icharpa* (ceremony for the dead) performed by Ainu for the first time in Tokyo in August 2003 at the site of a colonial agricultural school built by Meiji authorities in the capital in 1872. In the final chapter of Part Two, I offer analysis of a final "place" of Ainu sociality in Tokyo, the *Rera Cise* restaurant. The significance of the restaurant as a meeting point of local, regional and global influences leads me to reflect upon the dynamics of Ainu identity in the capital region and the more general importance of the restaurant in rethinking Ainu issues nationally.

In Part Three, and in conclusion, I draw upon the findings of this thesis to suggest that thinking Ainu and, more generally, Indigenous issues from the city destabilizes in a variety of productive ways the unity and coherence of first, the nation-state and secondly, ethnic identity. The increasing number of Indigenous peoples moving to, through and residing in urban areas mounts a very real challenge to conceptualizations of Indigenous life. This challenge should not be regarded as detrimental to the traditional focus of Indigenous studies but, on the contrary, should be recognized as a vital focus of research and an important factor in re-imagining Indigenous studies as an ever evolving process. With regard to the situation of Ainu in Tokyo, I elabourate on the work of the Pacific scholar David Welchman Gegeo (2001) and proffer that greater attention should be paid

to the *nature of Indigeneity* in the capital – namely, the way in which Ainu actually engage in everyday life and cultural practice – over and above tired debates about the *politics of identity* and related arguments of authenticity. In this way, it is possible to see how the capital region has started to emerge as a verifiable region of Ainu life and, therefore, why it is feasible to replace 'Kantō resident Ainu' with 'Kantō Ainu' in future discussion.

Due to the lack of information in English regarding Kantō resident Ainu, at the end of this thesis (Appendix 4) I provide the first list of Tokyo-specific references in the hope that it will serve as a starting point for future research.

Part One

The Urban Context

CHAPTER TWO

The Urban Indigenous Experience (I): Space and the Politics of Mobility

According to recent projections on the future of the world's population published by the United Nations, by 2030 it is estimated that 61% of people will be living in urban or urban-like communities (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2004: 1). In relative terms, this statistic already reflects an established pattern of demographic transition that delineates the changing structure of the world's Indigenous population. Latest census results from Canada and the United States for example indicate that the percentage of the total First Nations population resident in urban areas already matches if not exceeds two-thirds (Fixico 2000: 27-28; 2001: ix). In Chile, it is currently estimated that between 70 to 80 per cent of the Mapuche population reside in the capital of Santiago or provincial conurbations (Ancán Jara 1997, Bello 2002). Based upon 1996 data, over 83 per cent of Māori in New Zealand are considered to be living in urban areas, a figure that does not take into account the residence patterns of approximately 40,000 Māori resident overseas (Bedford & Pool 2004: 47, Naito 1999: 42; also see Johnston et al. 2003). Of course, as Guimond (2003) has noted from a Canadian perspective, where such figures have been based on census information issues surrounding second or third generation respondents born and raised in the city and the rationale of definitions used to determine Indigenous identity complicate efforts to attain reliable information regarding migration levels (also see Todd 2000/2001). Notwithstanding such politics however, in general these statistics do not reflect isolated trends but represent a wider spatial redistribution of Indigenous peoples across the world. From Inuit in Montreal (Kishigami 1993a, 1999a, 1999b, 2002), Mayans and Zapotecs in Mexico City (Hernández Ixcoy 2000 and Hirabayashi 1983, 1993 respectively), Saami in Helsinki (Lindgren 2001, Tyysteri 2005), Maasai in Dar es Salaam (May 2003, Ole Kaunga 2002), Akha in Chiang Mai (Toyota 1998), Hawaiians in major cities on the continental U.S. mainland (Halualani 2002) to Aborigines in cities across Australia (Keen

1988, Morgan 2003, Shaw 2000, Suzuki 1995, 2002), contemporary processes of urbanization mount a serious challenge to the representation of Indigenous peoples as fixed and constrained by traditional relations to 'the land' (Appadurai 1988a, Hinkson 2003, Patterson & Whittles 2004, Peters 2004, 2002). Indeed, based upon the growing amount of documentation from all continents detailing the relationship between Indigenous peoples and urban areas, it is now an irrefutable fact that the opening up of regional, national and international routes of "direct" and "indirect" mobility (Dahl & Jensen 2002b) for and by Indigenous peoples has undermined the colonial relations of power that have defined the rural contours of Indigenous cartography for so long (Aoyagi & Matsuyama 1999b: iii; Thompson 2001: 12–26).

The situation is such that today very few if any Indigenous societies have been left unaffected by the demographic shift of people towards urban areas or uninfluenced in a wider sense by the impact of dominant urban culture, what Joseph Jorgensen in his classic study of the political economy of American Indian urbanization described as the 'Metropolis': "*the concentration of economic and political power and political influence*" (original italics; 1971: 84). As the editors of the first collection of papers to emerge from the Canadian government's Aboriginal Policy Research Conference held in 2002 phrase it, in today's world Aboriginal life is as much about finding employment in urban economies, building urban networks and organizations, negotiating with landlords, creating the time and space in urban areas for culture, as it is with campaigning for land claims, rural development, and traditional practices (Newhouse & Peters 2003: 5). The range of contexts within which new Indigenous cultural meanings of urbanism are developing characterize the emergence of what I describe in this chapter as a new yet familiar kind of social space within Indigenous societies that stretches beyond the fixed boundaries of traditional identity. Indeed, what the 'urban' actually means in relation to Indigenous peoples is determined through the complex dynamics of such geographies (cf. Peters 1998: 668). Before I develop these points further and readdress the topic of Indigenous urbanization however it is first necessary to situate the subject matter within the wider field of interest.

'Indigenous Urbanism': Situating Current Issues of Urbanization

It is important to make clear at the outset that when we talk about the 'urban' in relation to Indigenous peoples in terms of spatial mobility and ideological influence, commonly conceived of as the primary processes that demarcate contemporary patterns of urbanization, we are addressing only two aspects of a much wider concept of 'Indigenous urbanism'. This concept includes a variety of issues that address the diachronic dimensions of the topic, encompassing the emergence, evolution and transformation of urban society in Indigenous history. This last point requires particular emphasis as it is an all too common misconception to associate the "urban" with (post)industrial, civilized society and non-Indigenous cultures.

Ancient Cities

Contrary to popular belief, many ancient peoples (the ancestors of present-day Indigenous populations) experienced periods of urbanization. Archaeological evidence from the Americas, for example, has enabled scholars to successfully document the history of "deurbanization" and "reurbanization" amongst First American peoples that points toward the existence of urban Indigenous life going as far back as 1600-1700 B.C. (Forbes 2001: 5). In southern Africa, the ancient city of Great Zimbabwe (circa 1100-1500 A.D.) is assumed to have been built and inhabited by the Bantu speaking Shona people, the descendants of whom still populate the area. Archaeological excavations of the ruins extend over an area of 1,800 acres and indicate that at its height the city accommodated a population of somewhere between 10,000 – 17,000 people (Asante & Asante 1983, Beach 1998, Ndoro 2005).[1] Appreciation of the centralized sites of ancient Indigenous settlements not only serve to demonstrate the foundations of political and social structure but also provide vital evidence of trade and commerce that underline routes of economic mobility. Found artifacts reaffirm understanding that urban centres were never fixed and isolated habitats but constantly in motion and functioned as nodal points along diverse geographical routes of socio-economic relations.

[1] For an engaged, interpretive discussion about the lost meaning of the ruins, see Stern (1999).

Ancestral Sites

From a social historical perspective, the concept of mobility in relation to urban life is not only confined to metropolitan activity. It also foregrounds alternative interpretations of current day urban centres from which Indigenous peoples have been displaced. The land upon which some of today's global metropolises like Toronto, Tokyo and Sydney now stand was populated and traversed for thousands of years by hunters, traders and settlers. The story of New York provides a good case in point of the cultural amnesia that pervades urban history. In his provocative book *Native New Yorkers: The Legacy of the Algonquin People of New York*, Evan T. Pritchard (2002) develops an Algonquin reading to the social geography of the city through the language and myths of the Lenape people. Despite the complete destruction of Lenape culture and sites of their settlement, "in a thousand subtle ways," Pritchard writes, "the influence of the Lenape remains. Through five hundred years of extermination, of building, bulldozing, and dishonoring Mother Earth in every way imaginable, the spirit of the Lenape still abides in the land." He continues on to assert: "Once you see New York City through Algonquin eyes…you will never be the same" (Pritchard 2002: 20).[2] Pritchard's historical narrative contests the boundaries of modernist geographical convention that assumes cartographies map space; history and stories, time (Fordred Green & Green 2003: 283). The narratives he weaves into the mapping of the city, as characterized for example by his analysis of major thoroughfares like Broadway and Flatbush Avenue as native trails, produce geographies of identity and resistance that spatialize history. What I mean by this is that he reinterprets history as the effects of *social* interaction and therefore as a *spatial event* (Massey 1999: 271). In so doing, Pritchard draws attention to the significance of experience in understanding attachment to place and thus the many different ways of understanding and inhabiting it (Grasseni 2004). I develop this perspective further in relation to remapping Tokyo through consideration of Ainu history in Part Two.

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[2] Of course, a number of similar studies exist on different cities around the world. On viewing Edmonton, Alberta through the eyes of local Aboriginal people, see Part I of the innovative Rossdale Flats Aboriginal Oral History Project sponsored by the Edmonton Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee (2004; for a background to the issues at play in the project, see Gregoire (2001) and Howell (2004a, 2004b)). On the politics of Aboriginal heritage and space in Perth, Australia see Fielder (1991, 1994).

Urban Growth

"Urban" also relates to the situation of traditional settlements that have grown into centralized towns and cities. John and Irma Honigmann's ethnography *Arctic Townsmen* (1970) is a well-referenced account of Iqaluit (formerly Frobisher Bay) in Northern Canada and the adaptive processes that shape an Indigenous settlement's development into a thriving centre for cultural and economic growth. Elsewhere, Kuzuno's (1999) work on the Saami town of Utsjoki emphasizes the historical change in Saami lifestyles and the influence that national Finnish policies have had on the development of the municipality.[3] The case of Utsjoki has wider implications, reflecting the broader agenda of integration of peripheral areas into nation-states through networks of institutionalized programs aimed at equalizing policies of education, employment, transportation, housing and so on (Müller-Wille 1981, Pitsiladis 1981). Urban growth also relates to Indigenous communities in more informal ways. A good example of this is the findings derived from a number of development projects engaged in assessing the "centralizing" impact tourism and other industries have had on the local dynamics and representation of Indigenous societies (Brown 1999, Deutschlander & Miller 2003, Lane & Waitt 2001, Ryan & Pike 2003; for a more general perspective on tourism and labour migration see Gössling & Schulz 2005).

Temporary Mobility: Visiting, Labour, Education, Protest etc.

Finally, when taken as a conceptual theme, "urban" also denotes the setting for temporary mobility. Modern cities provide the historical backdrop to many narratives of 'travel' that describe the routes Indigenous people have taken or have been forced to undertake to cities increasingly since the nineteenth century. More than simply offering an engaging insight into the Indigenous experience of urban space, attention to the contexts that enabled 'visits' to be made serve to disclose the relations of power that facilitated such movement (Freeman 1978, Harper 2000).[4]

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[3] From a Russian-Saami perspective, Roger Took (2003: 134-135) has described in vivid detail the detrimental effects of Soviet relocation policy on Saami lifestyles on the Kola Peninsula.

[4] The story of the Inuit child Minik dubbed the "New York Eskimo" is perhaps one of the most popular examples of this fact, having been brought to the United States from Greenland in 1897 along with his father and four others by the arctic explorer Robert Peary as specimens for the American Museum of Natural History. He was subsequently abandoned in the city following the death of his father and remained

Although I do not assume that these topics cover all examples of urban influence on Indigenous peoples, they do enough to demonstrate that the topic of urbanism in relation to Indigenous studies encompasses a diverse range of issues representative of objective categories for analysis. Such plurality however defines the field of study in a variety of ways. One aspect of this is the manner in which the issues that demarcate Indigenous urbanism as an appropriate object for research force us to ascertain exactly what we mean when we refer to a place as being "urban". It is interesting to note that the majority of archaeological and social historical studies that address the "urban tradition" amongst Old World populations concern themselves with the problem of defining "urban" at two broad levels of analysis: *definitional* (coming to an agreement over the urban as a particular type of community) and *conceptual* (reconciling the variety of settlements considered urban centres) (cf. Sanders & Webster 1988: 521). The issue of definition is often articulated around issues concerning the size and density of the population. Urban in this instance, therefore, refers to a place of human settlement often described in terms of a "locality". The cultural relativity of such a definition however becomes apparent when considering that in Iceland a place is defined as "urban" if 200 people are resident there whereas in the United States, based on the definition used in the 2000 census, the figure is 2,500 (with a population density of at least 1,000 per square mile). Classic anthropological models of urban life derived from the Chicago School subvert such relativity by locating the urban environment along a continuum, allowing places to be more or less urban depending upon the number of people (Fischer 1976: 7). Southall (1973: 72) amongst others has questioned the viability of the continuum model however, citing its evident inability to clearly distinguish rural from urban and its relative bearing when determining the time and place of emergence. Max Weber also dismissed a definition of the city based upon size ([1922] 1978: 1213) to instead propose an explanation of an *ideal-type*, typically based around "a market place of a certain magnitude, around which the life of its inhabitants is organized" (Domingues 2000: 108). His concern with identifying the city as an effect of much broader political and economic

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in New York for twelve years before returning "home" to aid future expeditions as a translator (see Harper 2000).

processes however reproduced the misgivings of Marxist theory in overlooking the role of social agency in shaping the unique conditions of urban life.

Another more persuasive attempt at forging a definition has developed around the dynamics of social complexity. Richard Fox (1977; but also Southall 1973) in his book *Urban Anthropology: Cities in their Cultural Settings* hints at the need to involve in any definition a way of understanding the city as a concept (as raised in the second sense above) that has varied throughout history. For Fox, the city is a "central place" and basically the effect of cumulative social relations that define its size, complexity and function. Because all cities are different and vary in both time and space, Fox asserts that they reflect the structure and processes of the wider society within which they are embedded. He provides typological analysis of five kinds of "city" that take account of both pre-industrial and industrial forms. The flexibility of this framework has been used by archaeologists to expound upon the virtues of the Mesoamerican urban tradition and develop (and, therefore, legitimate) its complexities in a comparative context (Sanders & Webster 1988).

Such attempts to define "urban" reflect a number of common difficulties and pitfalls, the most pervasive of all perhaps being the ambition to apply a definition universally across a broad field of interest. Now, it is important to point out at this stage that it is not the intention of this thesis to add to this debate. I intend to circumvent noted issues of complexity and confusion by clearly focusing solely upon issues of urban mobility and migration. It is from this perspective that I wish to point out any attempt to pin down and extrapolate on one particular explanation or sociological model of what "urban" is fundamentally undermines the multiple and diverse range of subjective engagements that characterize the "urban" as a different kind of cultural space (Robins 2001: 488-489). To paraphrase Kevin Robins (2001) in his lucid argument for a framework of cultural and social analysis of Britain based on the complex dynamics of London, an urban perspective on cultural life serves as a unique epistemological tool that facilitates different ways of thinking about identity, experience, interaction, self-organization and so on. Robins' concept of urban space as a theoretical referent for analysis that can complicate cultural thinking in a positive way and thus "open up ... alternative and cultural possibilities ... beyond the limiting vision of the national

imagination" (Robins 2001: 488) lends itself well to the task of addressing new contexts of Indigenous cultural complexity in urban environments. There are two principle reasons for taking Robins' position as a point of departure here.

Firstly, urban experiences are implicated within a world of multiplicity that paradoxically substantiates at the same time as it reworks our sense and understanding of self, culture and belonging in the world. Napolitano (2002) in a recent work on urban Mexico provides a useful angle on this point by developing the concept of "prisms of belonging" that she argues helps serve "to indicate the heterogeneous perceptions, feelings, desires, contradictions, and images that shape [urban] experiences of space and time" (2002: 9-10). One situation to which she applies the concept is migration that she recognizes "as both an experience of self-empowerment and a loss of power" (Napolitano 2002: 10). At a basic level, the elusive character of this dichotomy is founded upon the range of newly established as well as familiar contexts of space and time which underpin the transformative dynamics of urban complexity and social life. As Napolitano suggests (2002: 10) representations about space and place made from urban areas and thus the set of relationships between people, communities and situations that they define are continually contested. This highlights how the social realities of urban space unsettle established boundaries of identity and provide new contexts of social interaction from which people are compelled to reinterpret (previously normalized) ideas about belonging and 'being'-in-the-world. In this act of redefinition, conventional notions of space differentiated into separate and discrete spaces of culture by borders, both real and imagined, are reformulated. Static and fixed ideas of centre and periphery are replaced with a sense of space as fluid and fragmented (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003: 27). Where the city was once considered the site of dislocation and cultural disjuncture from life in rural communities, ethnography of urban life reveals the city as an "experimental and existential space" (Robins 2001: 489) where differential modes of experience underpin examples of what one might call "dynamic continuity" – the emergence of new forms of identity and of connections with "home" within urban centres.

The second principle follows on from the first by focusing on the actual ways that Indigenous peoples live and recognize themselves as being in the city. Until only recently, as the Native American professor David Newhouse has expressed it, the notion

of a "positive urban Aboriginality [was] seen by many as an anomaly and ... marked by a sense of shame and loss" (Newhouse 2003: 247). In the wake of an academic tradition that focused on the assimilation of Indigenous peoples in cities and the dismissal of urban Indigenous expressions of identity as "inauthentic" reproductions of "real" culture located in the rural homeland, there has been a distinct lack of emphasis on subjects addressing the dynamic processes of social cohesion such as community and self-organization that denote important categories of the urban Indigenous experience. Because of this very little attention has been given to understanding the particular ways in which Indigenous peoples make their own *places* in urban environments. The idea of place is rarely associated with the cultural complexity of urban space in part perhaps because "implacement," as Escobar writes echoing Casey (1993, 1997), "counts for more than we want to acknowledge" (Escobar 2001: 140). To investigate the ways in which Indigenous people implace themselves in cities is not to disembed or diminish local analysis of Indigenous life 'on the land' but recognize how lived relationships "stretch" beyond geographical locales and intersect and thereby energize a new kind of social space that exists between the city and rural areas. Understanding the processes and strategies that underpin and sustain Indigenous place-making activities in cities can demonstrate how place is not intrinsic to cultural life but made in an on-going process of production by revealing the means through which people gather, share, communicate and remember together, creating a *place for themselves* in the world (Basso 1996: 83, Olwig & Hastrup 1997; also see Watson forthcoming). To implace Indigenous peoples in cities is to legitimize their existence there. Furthermore, place is not only an empowering focal point for analysis but in terms of its inherent capacity to disclose patterns of emic sociality it also represents "an important arena for rethinking and reworking eurocentric forms of analysis" (Escobar 2001: 141). To approach issues of place in this way one begins to get a sense of how developing an understanding of related social processes and cultural complexity simultaneously defines what "urban" means for an Indigenous person when discussing the urban Indigenous experience.

Before elabourating on these two issues, let me first put in some perspective the marginal position of urban Indigenous life within academic and political circles.

The Urban Indigenous Experience: Emergence and Approach

Bearing in mind the issues I have just raised, it first needs to be clarified that despite the range of statistics available regarding the urban demography of Indigenous populations across the world, recognition of urban migration and mobility as major issues within the *international* Indigenous movement has only recently started to appear. Initial interest can be charted from December 2000 and the inauguration of the First International Conference on the Policy of Urban Indigenous Peoples held in Taipei, Taiwan.[5] Its location within Taipei County was highly symbolic. The municipal area is home to approximately 30,000 Aboriginal people spread across the area's ten metropolitan centres (Wang & Liu 2000: 49). Also, and perhaps more importantly, the range of social, economic and political issues regarding Aboriginal people in cities across Taiwan demonstrate it to be an important reference point for urban Indigenous studies (see Huang 2002). Despite the signing of a joint declaration from Indigenous participants however, the content of the conference failed to fulfill its promise addressing only general points on Indigenous issues without fully developing the subject of urbanism and urbanization (John van Dyke, personal communication 2004).

The perceivable lack of interest on the urban situation of Indigenous people prompted an Ainu representative at the 2002 United Nations' Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in New York to call for the issue to be given greater attention at the international level (Ainu Association of Sapporo 2002). What political effect this call had of course is difficult to gauge, however urban issues were included at the following year's session of the United Nations' Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) in Geneva. At that meeting, urban Indigenous migration was addressed for the first time as a principal topic for debate under the more general theme of globalization. According to a WGIP report based upon the content of the session, discussion amongst Indigenous and government representatives emphasized urban migration as an outcome of the "varied and sometimes unpredictable effects" of globalization as well as a result of "the lack of recognition of Indigenous peoples' rights".[6] The meeting highlighted the fact that

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[5] This conference was organized by the Department of Ethnology, National Cheng-chi University and sponsored by the Council of Aboriginal Affairs, Taipei Municipal Government.

[6] "Globalization" was defined in the session's working paper as a "multidimensional phenomenon consisting of numerous complex and interrelated processes, resulting in varied and sometimes

urban Indigenous migration has emerged hand in hand with the global rejuvenation of the city as a site of concentrated economic and social capital that has consequently resulted in the economic marginalization of rural areas. Many of the free market initiatives and commercial agricultural schemes that have characterized the structure of the new global political economy have undermined Indigenous traditional practices and collective rights connected to land and furthermore helped generate the conditions for urban migration.[7]

Although the very fact that urbanization was being talked about at such a level for the first time and on an *internationally* comparative scale is a timely and encouraging advancement for an area of Indigenous life that remains for the most part at the margins of public interest, the way in which it addressed the structural determinants of urban migration as entrenched within the broader forces of the political economy restated the all too common conception of urbanization as an effect of Indigenous *dispossession* and *displacement*. Despite increasing evidence that is beginning to rethink the 'urban' as a far more complex space than such linear characterizations account for, this way of thinking continues to dominate the representation of Indigenous life in cities. In order to change and move beyond this pervasive supposition however, we first need to understand the logic upon which it is based.

Urban Research, Representation and the Politics of Indigenous Mobility

The idea that through processes of dispossession and disenfranchisement from traditional life Indigenous people have naturally moved towards and into urban areas, what in modern Maori history has been called the "urban drift" (see Dennis et al. 2000), has provided a very one-dimensional perspective on a "complex reality" (Newhouse & Peters 2003: 5). LaGrand explains that the majority of studies on urbanization within Native North America have ended up by focusing on the history of policy (LaGrand 2002: 7).

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unpredictable effects." This opaque definition drew comments during the session from the Canadian government observer who reminded the Working Group of the fact that there was "no precise definition of globalization" although globalization as a phenomenon was "indisputable" (E/CN.4/Sub.2/2003/22: 12). The assertion from the Canadian representative echoed the theoretical position of much contemporary work on globalization that has "stood back from essentialist and reified interpretations of global change" and attempts at the formulation of a universal model (Long 2000: 185). It has been, after all, analysis of the effects of this 'multidimensional' and highly 'complex' phenomenon that the concept itself has been glimpsed at and conceived.

[7] See U.N. Doc E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.4/2003/2.

This has led to a distinct lack of information and ethnography on the *experiences* of Indigenous peoples in urban areas. It has also done little to critically reassess the image of Indigenous people as somehow being 'out of place' in cities and urban environments.

Urban life is commonly considered to disrupt the kind of person that the category of "Indigenous" is thought to signify. Of course, this way of thinking is not limited to only Indigenous peoples. The notion that by entering the city Indigenous people run the risk of losing their "identity" (a journey that many in fact may choose to make because of it) reflects much broader sociological and historical interest in the nature of urban life. Ferdinand Tönnies ([1887] 1963) presents one of the earliest examples of this in his classic distinction between *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society). Whereas the former characterized the tight bonds of collective action and reciprocity, the latter signified an impersonal system of capitalist relations that denoted a different kind of space. The emerging realization of a quantifiable division in space relations became the conceptual basis for a dichotomous model of life divided between rural and urban worlds. From Durkheim's ([1897] 1951) notion of *anomie* at the turn of the twentieth century to Goffman's (1959) theory of interactionism in the 1950s, the "urban" became widely regarded as an isolated and fragmented form of individual existence that undermined the sense of collective security and community otherwise associated with rural, non-urban areas. With regard to urban Indigenous research, the work of three theorists Louis Wirth, Robert Redfield and Oscar Lewis have particular significance.

Louis Wirth's theoretical contribution to urban studies as represented in his 1938 essay "Urbanism as a Way of Life" was based on the idea that the unique structural dynamics of the urban environment promoted a different way of life for people than in rural areas. What he came to term "urbanism" described a new form of social reality defined by a large and heterogeneous population that prefigured new kinds of individuated experience and ways of behavior that resulted from this. His focus on the particular range of social problems that characterize urban life presupposed themes of social welfare that many urban Indigenous organizations and researchers deal with today in their work (Lobo 2001a: xiii).

Where Wirth had been primarily concerned with life in cities, Robert Redfield's research in Latin America a decade later developed into the theory of the "folk-urban

continuum" referred to above. Redfield recognized the importance of needing to understand the relationship between rural and urban areas and the various factors that influenced movement between them. His work was to shape a number of studies regarding rural-urban migration especially concepts of acculturation and assimilation. (Lobo 2001a: xiii, Newhouse 2003: 247).

Perhaps the most ubiquitous urban theory that has served to circumscribe so much material on urban Indigenous life however has been Oscar Lewis's much maligned notion of the 'culture of poverty' proposed from observations he made in Mexico and later Puerto Rico during the 1950s and 1960s.[8] In basic terms, the 'culture of poverty' theory asserts the verifiable existence of an anthropological model of life (a "culture") characterized by a list of over seventy mainly negative and self-perpetuating traits (based upon a set of six "preconditions" [Harrison 1976: 832]) ranging for example from the "lack of effective participation" to a "high incidence of abandonment of wives and children" and "a high tolerance of psychological pathology of all sorts". Lewis considered these traits to classify a certain subculture of the population. It is important to note however that Lewis did not directly equate poverty with the 'culture of poverty'. For Lewis, it is not poverty itself that demarcates the poor as members of this culture but rather the lack of or only partial integration into national institutions (Lewis 1966). Harrison (1976: 833) has interpreted this definition as Lewis paying "lip service to the traditional anthropological concept of social structure" that he carries on and identifies as "a system of interdependent institutions".

The representation of Indigenous people in urban areas as an obvious example of the 'culture of poverty' theory relates us to the important notion of "ontological difference" and its impact upon social opinion. Jens Dahl and Marianne Jensen of the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) in a special edition of the *Indigenous Affairs* journal entitled "Indigenous peoples and Urbanization" elabourate on this point by stating that:

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[8] Most commentators have agreed with the Australian Aboriginal activist Marcia Langton in her description of Lewis's typology as epitomizing "the racist stereotype *par excellence*....elevated to the level of scientific observation by the use of sociological jargon and dubious methods" (original italics; Langton 1981: 18).

"the media often give us the impression that the miserable life of urban indigenous peoples is something intrinsic to their culture. Not only the media but also many government institutions offer this simplified and misleading perception. Likewise the poverty eradication policies of development agencies often follow the same path. To genuinely change the vicious circle of a culture of poverty, *these viewpoints need to be challenged.*"

(my italics; Dahl & Jensen 2002b: 5-6)

Although the inconsistent way in which Dahl and Jensen use the term 'culture of poverty' throughout their article presents its own problems, the emphasis they place on the need to challenge established opinion represents a foundational strategy for change. The basis to one such strategy exists in following the shift in contemporary urban theory away from an anthropology *of* the city (Fox 1977) to anthropology *in* it, a shift towards a spatial understanding of human culture. As Setha Low in her thorough review paper of urban anthropology puts it, this approach views the "urban" and thus life within it "as a process rather than as a type or category" (Low 1996: 384). In this way, she says, "the "city" is not a reification but the focus of cultural and sociopolitical manifestations of urban lives and everyday practices" (Low 1996: 384). From the perspective of urban Indigenous studies, this focus on process is helpful in the way that it reworks 'culture of poverty' theory into a politico-economic issue of social exclusionism, marginalization and discrimination and the "underlying structural factors" that underpin them (Dahl & Jensen 2002b: 6). This theoretical focus enables a much wider framework of analysis that can address the multiple experiences of urban Indigenous life and therefore better characterize the many situations faced by Indigenous peoples in urban areas today.

Work focused on the processual aspects of urban space demonstrates the comparative political experience of Indigenous peoples and minority groups. A number of authors, for example, have demonstrated how fundamentally entwined the historical development of urban space is with the symbolic politics and racialization of modernity (Amin & Thrift 2002: 292, Bonnett 2002, Cross & Keith 1993, Jackson & Penrose 1993). Such work has emphasized agency over structure, drawing attention to the "manner in which localities are *constituted* by subjects who perceive, represent and over time

construct them" (original italics; Anderson 1993: 84). Holloway (2000: 200) develops this perspective to argue that in light of insights drawn from contemporary social theory, 'race'-related urban research based upon simple binary distinctions made between 'black' and 'white' for example can no longer claim to accurately represent the dimensions of urban social geography. A number of studies now attest to this position and contend that the ethnic complexity of urban space has contributed to notable processes of "de-essentializing ethnicity" (Baumann & Sunier 1995). Our attention, therefore, should be focused on what Floya Anthias (1998) terms "differentiated ethnicity" concerned with the need to rethink ethnic commonality in terms of intersectional difference delineated along lines of gender, class, age, trans-ethnic alliances and so on.[9] This is a point which I develop in more detail in the following chapter.

In returning to the matter of racialized urban space and the politics of exclusion, I wish to point out that the very basis to an assimilationalist perspective regarding Indigenous migration to urban areas is, first and foremost, an issue of the politics of space and of how people are thought to be affected physically, socially and psychologically in the process of moving through it (Wood 2003: 374). This being said however, as the sociologist Adrian Favell reminds us, before we get too carried away with "globaloney" as he wryly terms it and completely replace "real people" with talk of "flows", to fully understand migration and related processes of mobility we must spend "a lot of the time studying things that stand still" (Favell 2001: 391-392). Somewhat paradoxically however, what the study of such stationary "things" like 'borders', 'land' and 'home' will eventually involve is the disclosure of how they *actively* remain still and thus subvert the anthropological logic of life as being in a continual state of flux. Rapport and Dawson in their polemical essay on mobility, skillfully draw on the work of Gregory Bateson (1958, 1972) to develop this argument and assert that:

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[9] Watanabe and Fischer call ethnography based on this approach as 'pluricultural' "because it pays close attention to connections across boundaries of differentiation—ethnicity, class, gender, geography, nations—that might otherwise conjure up different cultures. Yet, it remains "ethnographic" insofar as it derives from the specificity and open-ended complexity of face-to-face interactions and understandings, however extended across space and time" (Watanabe & Fisher 2004: 6).

"Movement is fundamental to the setting up and the changing of relations by which things gain and maintain and continue to accrue thingness. Indeed, since one of the 'things' that thus comes to exist as an identifiable thing is 'oneself'... movement is also fundamental to the thingness, the identity, of the self."

(Rapport & Dawson 1998: 20)

They continue by demonstrating how anthropologists, until fairly recently, used ethnographic evidence of movement across all cultures ranging from ritual pilgrimage to nomadic custom as a means of enabling social and cultural fixity of Other identities (1998: 22). After all, fixity was and to varying degrees still is assumed to presuppose a stable and authentic idea of the 'self', of cultural identity. Mobility on the other hand was considered disruptive. As Renato Rosaldo (1988: 80) has put it, "[d]egrees of mobility differentiate people "with" and "without" culture". In other words, those who have culture are commonly represented as sedentary and rooted. Those "without" culture are considered rootless and "culturally invisible".

The representation of Indigenous peoples as being 'of the land' was influenced in no small part by the authority of the anthropological imagination. Traditionally, the 'field' of anthropological research was assumed to be located in a far-away, exotic place and demarcated by naturally occurring boundaries between separate and discrete "cultures". By association, the fixed and frozen conceptualization of the 'field' came to characterize the fate of its inhabitants as "confined" or "incarcerated" by their location (Appadurai 1988a).[10] More often than not, cultural boundaries that enclosed Indigenous people were traced along historical borders defined by colonial authorities that anthropology succeeded in normalizing (Thompson 2001: 15). In doing so, characterizations of the inhabitants became sustained by broader and more complex regimes of truth. The conflation of identity with cultural *difference* within ethnographic texts informed a fundamental organizing principle of anthropology concerning the inherent relationship between place and the social dynamics of human emplacement in

[10] Of course, at the same time it needs to be noted that in the case of Indigenous peoples this assertion is complicated by the fact that sedentary representations of culture and life have dualistic and contradictory functions: locally empowering (what Spivak terms "strategic essentialism") and nationally oppressive, integrated into the politics of hegemonic order.

the world. In this way, identities became synonymous with bounded spaces of belonging – local, regional, national (Pries 2001: 55-56).[11] However, the way in which anthropologists infused authority into the "rooted" metaphor that mythologized and romanticized primordial attachment to the "land" came to define the ontology of Indigenous peoples in a way that simultaneously identified the world of urbanized, modern and civilized individuals whose lack of culture it was surmised stemmed from their inauthentic, mobile lives (Harvey 2001, Rosaldo 1988).[12] In this vein of thinking, Jonathan Spencer has argued that the professional consolidation of anthropology in Britain during the early to mid-twentieth century was representative of a kind of "ethnographic naturalism" that enabled the "creation of a taken-for-granted representation of reality by certain standard devices" (original italics; 1989: 152). By delimiting the geographical and social boundaries of the people under study in other words, culture and thus identity was "believed to center in one place that lies within borders" (Thompson 2001: 17). "Culture" was essentialized and came to symbolize different things in different places – pollution in one place, hierarchical lineage in another. Marilyn Strathern describes this period in anthropological history as distinguished by the appearance of a new topography that "concret*ize*[d] certain ideas *as though* they arose from local experience" (original italics; Strathern 1988: 89).

With regard to Indigenous people in urban areas, the most fundamental idea in anthropological research came to be that of assimilation or acculturation. Marcia Langton an Aboriginal activist from Australia writing in the early 1980s argued that the most dominant idea about the study of Aboriginal life in urban contexts until that time had been characterized by an authentic/inauthentic inversion in anthropological thought. Due to the "'full-blood – half-caste' dichotomy" she wrote, for anthropologists and policymakers alike the "urban-rural-tribal triangle remains the [most] widely held and largely unfounded model of the 'detribalizing' or urbanizing Aboriginal population" (Langton 1981: 16). In agreement with Arjun Appadurai (1988a: 45), the way in which

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[11] It is important to remember that from a historical perspective the territorial expanse of "Indigenous land" is often in conflict with the geo-political reality of national and regional borders (see Archuletta 2005, Boyd 1998, Luna-Firebaugh 2002, McManus 1999, 2001).

[12] It has been suggested that the ethnographic authority anthropologists exercised in territorializing *their* object of study was implicated in the differentiated evolution of the modern character in relation to the emergence of the uncivilized, irrational Other (Tarnas 1996: 416-419).

certain images and ideas gain metonymic authority in anthropological discourse for particular places, what with regard to Indigenous urbanization we could term a particular *social situation*, is both a question of history and comparison. Historically, the spatial and temporal distancing of Indigenous cultures from metropolitan centres engineered the logic that they were naturally antithetical. Representations of the identity of Indigenous peoples as inherently constituted in and through their relationship to places (and each other) underlined the idea that the migration or movement away from traditional lands into urban areas signified their inevitable willingness (as prophesized by Marxian theories of progress) to assimilate into urban culture and the dominant way of life. The Canadian geographer Evelyn Peters (2004: 8), on writing about the literature on Aboriginal urbanization in Canada during the 1970s, remarks that few papers up until and including that time diverged from the hegemonic idea that Aboriginal culture made adjustment to urban life difficult. Similar if not identical assumptions characterize the history of research in the United States, Australia and New Zealand. Urban migration was discussed in a language that focused on Indigenous migration as a social problem articulated around images of loss, conflict, diminishment and irrevocable change. It also provided the rationale for varying strategies of power.

To differentiate in ontological terms between Indigenous people resident in "rural" and "urban" areas holds particular political and social consequences. At a very early stage of fieldwork, my Japanese advisor at the Institute of International Culture, Showa Women's University cogently advised me against thinking too fondly of the ethnonym 'Tokyo Ainu' without due regard for what impact it may have on representing non-Hokkaidō Ainu as distinctly "different" and "Other" from Ainu in Hokkaidō. Indeed, for Ainu as for so many other Indigenous peoples, the idea of the 'urban' as an embodied marker of difference – of being a different kind of Indigenous person – is what all too commonly informs opinion (held by the public, policymakers and some Indigenous people alike) that differentiates "them" socially, politically and legally from the rest of the population. One explicit example of this exists in the domain of rights. The dominant idea of self-determination for Indigenous peoples for example (in the way it is most commonly used to refer to rights of self-governance and related forms of political autonomy) is generally regarded to apply only to those who live or remain

resident in a certain region and are able to demonstrate control over a particular set of resources. To migrate away from that region into an urban area not only jeopardizes any rights that Indigenous people may lay claim to but could also redefine their public identity. As Snezana Trifunovska a legal scholar from the Netherlands elabourating on comments made by Asbjorn Eide at the second session of the UN Working Group on Minorities in 1996 points out, urban migration by Indigenous people endangers the logic upon which a normalized set of conventions surrounding Indigenous identity has emerged. Within an urban environment, Indigenous people could conceivably lose their Indigenous status (and claims to associated rights) and be redefined in legal terms alongside other ethnic groups in the city as a minority based upon the idea that like "minorities" their "prime concern [is] to preserve their identity in the urban setting" (Trifunovska 1997: 189).

The principles upon which the social dynamics of the urban environment operate are thought to antagonize the cultural values that define Indigenous people. Assimilation theory therefore reflected the processes of immigration that Rosaldo talks about as "a site of cultural stripping away" (Rosaldo 1993: 209). From the viewpoint of dominant society, entrance from peripheral areas into the social and politico-economic life of the city (centre) produced "postcultural citizens" who, over time, gradually lost their own particular cultural identity and became like everyone else, "people without culture". This way of theorizing and understanding Indigenous urbanization was in itself the effect of certain trends in urban theory that enabled ontological essentialism to shape and reshape our imaginations of people in the world through the division of space.

Urban Indigenous Experiences: Emergent Sociality

It is the position of this thesis that emergent modes of Indigenous sociality challenge pre-conceived ideas of what urban life means for Indigenous peoples. The range of academic studies and (non-)government(al) committees focused on urban Indigenous issues in many of the world's major cities attest to the fact that urbanization can no longer be characterized as an inevitable process of assimilation or acculturation (Lambert 1986: 16, Patterson 2004). Increasing evidence of diasporic attachments between urban and rural

areas serve to subvert the authority of localizing strategies that underpin primordial representations of Indigenous identity (Clifford 1994, Fardon 1990).

One could say therefore that it is not urban life that puts an end to Indigenous people, instead it puts an end to our *idea* of Indigenous people (cf. Paz 1990: 54). In saying this, I am *not* suggesting that we neglect or in any way devalue the profound sense of loss woven into the Indigenous experience of post-contact history nor overlook the detrimental impact that development projects and policy have had on Indigenous communities and traditional ways of life; on the contrary, I appreciate the necessity to foreground such issues and recognize its symbiotic relationship to the wider agenda of the international Indigenous rights movement. At the same time however, I *am* saying that we must be careful not to reduce or simplify urban Indigenous migration to just the particular effect of a set of political and economic circumstances. To delimit the issue in such a way ignores not only the many and often contradictory factors that contribute to patterns of migration but also the contingencies of agency that contribute to its complex fluidity. Furthermore, it fails to recognize its emergence as a highly fragmented yet discernable field of inquiry circumscribed by a wide range of issues from welfare, poverty, health and education to the history of self-organization, cultural revitalization and political activism. Moreover, it also risks normalizing a sense of indifference towards the relationship between urban life and concepts of (Indigenous) identity – of what it means "being Ainu", or Saami, or Inuit in the city (cf. LaGrand 2002: 2) – a key dynamic that all studies addressing urban Indigenous issues either depart from or refer back to in some way.

By locating issues of identity at the core of urban Indigenous research I aim to structure a particular way of viewing these issues. The benefits in doing so relate not only to fully understanding the conceptual basis of a comparative approach across cultures *and* nations but also to a way of addressing Indigenous urbanization that opposes an exclusively policy-oriented, historical characterization informed by neo-classical models of economic determinism. This point represents an adept move informed by basic political concerns to redress a fundamental misconception of urban research that when we talk about an Indigenous individual resident in an urban area in terms of being an "urban Indigenous person", that for the purposes of this thesis we could term "urban

Ainu", we are not talking about a particular kind of Ainu. What we are in fact referring to is a particular kind of *experience* or rather a range of *experiences* that an increasing number of Ainu [re: Indigenous people] have had (cf. Straus & Valentino 2001: 86). On this very issue, Susan Lobo, a long time researcher of the San Francisco Bay Area American Indian community, answers her own provocative question "is urban a person or a place?" by definitively stating: "Urban is a place, a setting where many Indian people at some time in their lives visit, "establish an encampment," or settle into. Urban doesn't determine self-identity, yet the urban area and urban experiences are contexts that contribute to defining identity" (Lobo 2001b: 73). Lobo's insistence on understanding the "urban" as a spatial setting informs a broader theoretical position she raises concerning the relational dynamics of Indian society in San Francisco, an important (and all too rare) attempt at theorizing urban Indigenous life that I return to in the next chapter in my discussion of the utility of rethinking urban Indigenous issues through the prism of diaspora. What I want to draw attention to here for the moment however is Lobo's standpoint that is characteristic of a much wider shift in social theory reflected in the way we now understand and approach cultural identity. This shift has gradually moved analysis away from the prescriptive authority of positivist science towards a *new* perspective and questions based no longer upon ideas of identity as essentialist facts but rather as processes of social negotiation, of identity as a form of dialogical discourse that subjects construct and are constructed by (Bentley 1987, Bourdieu 1977, 1990, Kipnis 1997).

Understandably, this transition in thinking is a definitive one and effects the way in which we categorize and understand the world. Anderson and Jacobs (1997) suggest that this reasoning accounts for the marked change in how geographers in Australia have gradually redefined the object of urban Aboriginal research from that of "urban Aborigines" to "Aboriginality in the city". This transition they explain has not altered the political motivation of Australian cultural geography that has always been "intensely political, engaging in national political questions and campaigning for policy reform" but highlights the evolution of its analytical purpose from the "description of a given sub-group (urban Aborigines)" to concerns over "the complex processes by which Aboriginality is defined, managed and contested (Aboriginality and the city)" (Anderson

& Jacobs 1997: 14). Now, at one level, this change in emphasis represents the pervasive rejection of a holistic notion of culture, by focusing on the historical processes that inform the representation and construction of cultural identity (Gupta & Ferguson 1997: 46). At another more radical level however, what this shift presupposes is a point of departure for the field as a whole: that we cannot and indeed should not conceive of Indigenous peoples in urban areas as "differently embodied" (ontological) but instead recognize their presence in terms of being "differently territorialized" (spatial) individuals (Gupta & Ferguson 1997).[13]

This emphasis on the emergence of a new Indigenous reality and realm of experience within which new forms of Indigenous culture and society are being constructed raise important questions about appropriate ways of studying urban Indigenous situations and highlight the need to move away from broad generalizations assumed by outmoded theoretical models of "integration" or "culture of poverty" that have characterized urban Indigenous research up until this point. What is required instead is a shift in emphasis, similar to that proposed by Lisa Peattie in her argument for *new* urban research, focused less on "old categories" as she puts it than on developing "a repertoire of analytic concepts that help us to understand similarities in process within diverse settings" (Peattie 1996: 371). Whilst the original intention behind this approach was concerned with enhancing the potential of research in understanding social action and the role of researchers in policy analysis, the primary consideration from the perspective of this thesis is its initiative to forge a framework for comparative analysis based less on "topics" (i.e. 'urban poverty', 'informal sector',) than on "issue-animated case studies focused on the identification of contextualized patterns" (Peattie 1996: 377),

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[13] As I shall argue, in doing this, the perceivable shift in perspective from ontology ("differently embodied") to spatiality ("differently territorialized") constitutes the basis for a progressive and ultimately open comparative agenda. One that does not categorize and close down interpretations of Indigenous life based upon positivist notions of a fixed and predetermined identity ('embodied difference' that is itself a limited form of comparison based upon an imagined, Platonic form of ideal "Indigenousness"), but rather conceptualizes life as an open "mutable on-going production" (Massey 2004: 5), particularly situated within a field of continuity that stretches between not only rural and urban areas but also (in a comparative sense) between different societies located around the world. A comparative agenda emergent from the contemporary politics of space that emphasizes similarity based along a range of different experiences.

a mode of address, in other words, focused on the realization of an analytical concept grounded in thick ethnographic research.[14]

In practical terms, the analytical concept I propose we use is 'diaspora'. This is not as radical a break with established models of urban Indigenous research as one may think. To a limited extent this approach already characterizes a point of convergence around which a small but significant field of research has emerged. In the following chapter, I discuss its potential for developing analytical interest in urban Indigenous life as a comparative forum of study.

[14] This represents an extension of discussion within anthropology over the theory of comparative practice and the need to forge units of comparison based on "formal patterns rather than substantive variables" (Holy 1987: 13; Needham 1975). A measured move towards a level of generalization that avoids the essentialist consequences of positivism and the "conceptualization of social facts as things" (Holy 1987: 13).

CHAPTER THREE

The Urban Indigenous Experience (II): A Place-Based Framework for Diasporic Analysis

The discussion of space and Indigenous mobility in the previous chapter highlights a range of key issues for urban Indigenous studies such as the normalization of political geographies; tensions in the dialectical interplay between fixity and belonging; the movement away from essentialism to fluid and processual interpretations of culture and society; disruption between place and identity and the complexities of urban ethnicity and its differentiation across multiple social categories – class, gender, age, occupation and so on. With the intersection of such issues across urban Indigenous life, it would seem only natural that the field of inquiry lends itself to diasporic analysis, what Clifford describes as "a kind of theorizing that is always embedded in particular maps and histories" (Clifford 1994: 302). As I come to demonstrate in the latter half of this thesis, for Ainu in the Kantō region the dynamics of diaspora pervade understanding of the overarching political dimensions of Ainu life in the capital and the development of Ainu sociality in the region. In this chapter however, I establish the emerging function of diaspora within recent studies focused on contemporary Indigenous life in cities and suggest a way to develop its utility as a framework for analysis through the prism of 'place'.

The 'Indigenous City': A Comparative Analytical Review

Three recent edited editions, one a journal special issue, all published within the last seven years are to my knowledge the only studies in any language to attempt to forge an *international* comparative perspective on urban Indigenous issues. The earliest of these was published in Japanese in 1999. Entitled *Senjyūmin to Toshi: Jinruigaku no Atarashii Chihei* (translated as '*Indigenous Peoples and Cities: Towards New Horizons of Anthropology*'), it represented a joint research venture between the National Museum of Ethnology (*Minpaku*) in Osaka and the (then) Japanese Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (*Monbushō*). The book included fifteen papers sectioned off geographically –

Oceania, Asia and Northern Europe, North and Central America – looking at the urban situation of twelve different Indigenous peoples and two further papers included in a final section developing theoretical issues from the perspective of international sociology. In the book's preface, the editors Aoyagi Kiyotaka and Matsuyama Toshio (1999b: iii) elabourate on the origins of the project and how it was initially organized as a means to explore what they recognized to be the increasingly significant relationship between Indigenous peoples and cities. Due to their own professed lack of knowledge and understanding about the topic prior to the project's establishment, the editors emphasize that it was the actual results of the researches that drew their attention to three major research concerns that distinguished the collection of studies. They were: 1) historical, social, economic and political issues of Indigenous identity relating to the "various phases of change" that had taken place in each country; 2) recognition of the importance urban–homeland relations had in defining structural and experiential factors of Indigenous migration; and, finally, 3) the effect of national policy on Indigenous peoples.

Although certain inconsistencies exist within the general flow of the book representative perhaps of its relatively early timing and multi-disciplinary agenda, an important feature of the collection that I wish to pick up on is its recognition that the basis for comparison is established through the *experience* and *existential narratives* of Indigenous life. Immediately, this destabilizes the centripetal legacy of work from the 1960s and 1970s that addressed the topic of "urban" migration, mobility, residence in terms of its effects on coherent and discrete systems of Indigenous culture that were assumed to characterize objective forms and structures in which "culture and person are relatively well formed from the outset" (Sullivan & McCarthy 2004: 291-292). What an experience focused approach foregrounds, in parallel to broader shifts in social theory during the 1980s, is the "*centrifugal* messiness of lived and felt relations between people" (my italics; Sullivan & McCarthy 2004: 292), a perspective that closely follows John Urry's (2004: 112) description of new "social physics", based less on 'structure' than on 'networks' and the interrelationships between people, entities and objects that now intersect and define social space.

Whereas the research project in Japan provided a start to thinking through urban Indigenous issues, it was not until 2002 that it was taken up again as a subject for debate

when Jens Dahl and Marianne Jensen of the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) published a special issue of the *Indigenous Affairs* journal entitled 'Indigenous Peoples and Urbanization'. In their editorial Dahl and Jensen (2002b) introduce nine collected papers, again separated into geographical regions (Africa, Asia, America, Arctic and Pacific), by establishing six common "threads" that "distinguish the Indigenous cases and set them apart from the life of other urban dwellers" (p.6).[1] The idea of multiple comparative "threads" supports the authors' position that there is no "universal characteristic" that defines an urban Indigenous person or group (p. 6), however, at the same time they point to the fact that in developing the particular situation of each study the majority of the articles describe "the continued close contact between urban Indigenous communities and the rural communities in their home areas" (p. 7). This feature highlights two fundamental dynamics of urban Indigenous life. First is the fluid and yet definite character of social "networks of relatedness" (Lobo 2001b: 77) that energize multiple levels of Indigenous life in urban areas. From large, self-run organizations of the kind described by Weibel-Orlando (1991) in Los Angeles to family get-togethers, urban Indigenous life exists at the interstices of numerous networks of interrelations. It is exactly at those points that the study of urban Indigenous life exists. Somewhat ironically however, the logic of relatedness also underscores a second feature of urban Indigenous life that Dahl and Jensen highlight (p.6), namely that of difference. In this context, difference refers to the fragmentation of identity along lines of gender, class, age, education and so on, what the sociologist Floya Anthias (1998) has termed the "problem of intersectionality".

Although the insights Dahl and Jensen provide are important and as we will see mirror central concerns in forming a framework for cross-cultural analysis, they fall short of developing a formalized comparative approach. One study that has developed a theoretical foundation for an analytical concept is a recent publication by the Australian demographers Martin Bell and John Taylor (2004a). Entitled *Population Mobility and Indigenous Peoples in Australasia and North America*, it represents the most comprehensive attempt to date at providing systematic analysis of what the editors term

[1] The "threads" that Dahl and Jensen identify are 'reasons for migration', 'culture of poverty', 'social networks', 'self-organization', 'identity' and 'authenticity'.

'New World demography'. Inspired by a paper published by Bell and Taylor in the *International Journal of Population Geography* in 1996, the collection of essays extends the editors' interest in exploring the commonalities in urban mobility patterns that exist between Indigenous peoples in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States. One of the three main commonalities on which they elabourate is the urban-rural relationship. The way in which they approach it however addresses the issue in a slightly different way, focusing more on the spatial implications of the geography. They concur with the centrifugal orientation of the previous research by stating that "the integration of Indigenous peoples into the urban system has been less than wholesale" (2004b: 3). However they move beyond the position of that research to instead develop the topic's complexity and suggest that the series of interrelationships that exist between urban and rural areas emphasize "widespread continuity, and even the rejuvenation of a rural population base [that] runs counter to the mainstream mobility experience in developed countries, and underscores the fact that Indigenous populations have homelands *within* nation-states" (original italics; 2004b: 3).

In the last section of the book entitled "Emerging Research Themes", Bell and Taylor draw upon this notion of internal migration as a principle point of departure for understanding Indigenous mobility. They do so as a means of defining how the notion of Indigenous mobility *as diaspora* differs from conventional ideas of movement currently falling within the concept of diaspora. They do this in a way that does not dismiss the concept outright but rather explores its utility as a tool of analysis in a bid to enhance the theorization of an Indigenous perspective. This position builds on what they regard to be the greatest challenge for research, namely "not simply to capture the dynamics of ... diverse forms of [Indigenous] movement, but to understand how they intersect and interweave to underpin the lives of Indigenous peoples" (Bell & Taylor 2004c: 266). What engages their interest the most is that in as much as 'diaspora' represents the experience of displacement, dislocation and effectively exile from one's homeland, the term lends itself to the focus on networks and circulation as opposed to fixed notions of settlement that the editors suggest better characterize the reality of urban Indigenous situations.

Emerging Frames of Diaspora Analysis in relation to (Urban) Indigenous Issues

Despite the allusion to and application of diasporic and transnational frames of analysis in a number of studies in recent years, no-one has yet provided a satisfactory overview of the literature that seeks to unify and therefore consolidate the range of findings and references for future research. I seek to fill this gap in the following section.

Bell and Taylor are not the first to apply the term diaspora to Indigenous peoples, although one could be forgiven for thinking so.[2] As the Native American activist and scholar Ward Churchill (1996) observes, analytical techniques garnered from the field of Diaspora Studies are seldom thought about when considering the situation of the Indigenous peoples of the United States. "In large part," he writes, "this appears to be due to an unstated presumption on the part of diaspora scholars that because the vast bulk of the native people of the United States remain inside the borders of the nation-state, no population dispersal comparable to that experienced by African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos ... is at issue" (Churchill 1996: 191). Of course, bearing in mind the view made earlier in the previous chapter regarding the social construction of Indigenous borders and the political consequences of that fact, it is important to point out that the "transnational" focus of diaspora research requires equally careful qualification in light of opinion amongst geographers and policymakers that any distinction made between 'international' and 'internal' migration is relatively arbitrary (Boyle et al. 1998, Hedberg & Kepsu 2003).[3] As Hedberg and Kepsu (2003: 75) have ably demonstrated in relation to patterns of migration from Finland to Sweden amongst the Swedish-Finnish minority, geographical borders lose their relevance when strong cultural factors related to the particular historical formation of an ethnolinguistic group underpin such mobility and

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[2] In fairness, they allude to this fact when they write that ""diaspora" is already part of the lexicon of Indigenous mobility in the form of Torres Strait Islanders dispersed across the Australian mainland" (Bell & Taylor 2004c: 263; also see Rowse 2002: 193). They stop well short however of providing an adequate overview of the literature that has utilized the concept of diaspora.

[3] On top of this, diaspora may also destabilize political boundaries in a more conventional way. A view from distance can highlight the fact that although particularly situated within the territorial borders of a nation-state (or two), the concept of 'Home' does not fit geo-political designations as charted by the state. The symbolic and spiritual attachment to land that Indigenous peoples maintain (where they are able to that is) often form the basis to alternative social geographies that contest and resist borders and boundaries (see McManus 2001). Yet, as Lentin notes (2002: 234), this issue may point to one of the particularities of Indigenous diasporism, as for Indigenous peoples this "homing" instinct may well be complicated by historical paradox and the condition of diaspora experienced without moving, *in situ* through the processes of minoritization by the dominant majority.

essentially transform it into "internal migration". This way of (re)conceptualizing borders, that bears striking parallel to Appadurai's (1991) notion of "ethnoscape", could be classified as one of the "special characteristics" that Harold Orbach (1999) states separates the situation of American Indian diasporas in the United States from "traditional" diasporas.

As a perfunctory remark, it would seem that in parallel to the broader logic of diaspora studies, the act of rethinking the contours and dimensions of space represents an organizing principle of this emerging field of interest in Indigenous research. In the literature that addresses Indigenous peoples from the perspective of diaspora, it is possible to delineate two broad patterns in the way such space is conceived of in order to refer to divergent historical, geographical and cultural situations. Heckenberger (2002) characterizes the first and perhaps most general notion of space that we could term "classical". His comparative linguistic study of the "Arawakan diaspora" in the Amazon relates to the traditional idea of diaspora as dispersal from a place of origin. The idea of diaspora he employs in the text he defines as "among a subset of major human movements that might be called linguistic diasporas, the dispersal and influence of a cultural pattern, with a common ancestor, identified first and most clearly by linguistic means: the widespread distribution of a language family" (Heckenberger 2002: 116). In a more modern, political context, this notion of dispersal has also been utilized by Edward Spicer in his description of the displacement of Yaqui people by Mexican government forces and plantation owners into the "Yaqui diaspora" (Spicer 1980: 158-161; on its usage with regard to Maori from an economic perspective, see Harvey 2001).[4] Although used at a regional level of analysis, the implication that the current spatial distribution of native peoples within a certain area could be traced back to a common, ancestral point of departure is only one step removed from addressing Indigenous peoples as members of a global diaspora. Indeed, some have already hinted at the possibility of taking this leap of faith. Anderson, for example, has written "vis-à-vis the relationship of diaspora minorities to a "homeland"" Indigenous peoples of the world (what he terms an

[4] As mapped out in Edward Spicer's book *The Yaquis: A Cultural History*, by 1920 the Yaqui population already stretched from the plantations of lowland Yucatán Peninsula to the mines and plantations around Hermosillo in northwestern Mexico and beyond to southern California and the barrios of urban Los Angeles (Spicer 1980: 158).

"interrelated minority") could be conceived of as living in a "virtual diaspora situation" (Anderson 1998: 16). In many respects, the current international movement for Indigenous rights is already caught up in particular strategies of resistance that mobilize political capital based on this premise.

At this juncture and as a means of proceeding onto explication of the second pattern of diasporic usage, it is helpful to situate this application of the term within the theoretical limits set by the broader frame of inquiry. By this I mean that we must take into account how this definition fits into the "broad semantic domain" in which the term diaspora now generally operates (Shuval 2000: 41-42). After all, as Brubaker (2005: 4) has recently written following the much publicized concerns of William Safran (1991), Khachig Tölölyan (1996: 9-16) and Kim Butler (2001) amongst others, the number of disciplines and individual studies now employing the term diaspora has greatly proliferated prompting lengthy and continuing debate over its intellectual dilution into a fashionable but effectively meaningless label. Despite the obvious implications of this trend, Brubaker proposes the continuance of three core elements that underpin wider understandings of diaspora. They are dispersion, homeland orientation and boundary-maintenance. The "traditional" overtones of such typologies, reminiscent in many ways of Safran's (1991) polemical model, serve the purpose of highlighting the conventional orientation of diaspora in terms of identifying a particular ethnic group 'in exile' (McKeown 1999: 311). This is the context in which the first usage of Indigenous diaspora above can be applied.

However, Brubaker emphasizes the need to look critically at the normalized assumptions that inform this definition. His contention is that such understanding commonly misrepresents 'diaspora' as a substantialist entity that ascribes to it social group boundaries similar in form to a nation or ethnic minority (2005: 10), similar in purpose to what I have already referred to as 'ontological difference'. On the contrary, he asserts, we need to move away from an understanding of diaspora as a bounded entity towards a position that addresses it in more pragmatic and less essentialist terms as a "category of practice" articulated in social discourse as "an idiom, a stance, a claim" (2005: 12). The benefits of this approach lie in its capacity not to describe the world but remake it. As Brubaker puts it:

"rather than speak of 'a diaspora' or 'the diaspora' as an entity, a bounded group, an ethnodemographic or ethnocultural fact, it may be more fruitful, and certainly more precise, to speak of diasporic stances, projects, claims, idioms, practices, and so on. We can then study empirically the degree and form of support for a diasporic project among members of its putative constituency, just as we can do when studying a nationalist project. And we can explore to what extent, and in what circumstances, those claimed as members of putative diasporas actively adopt or at least passively sympathize with the diasporic stance, just as we can do with respect to those who are claimed as members of putative nations, or of any other putative collectivity."

(Brubaker 2005: 13)

'Diaspora' considered thus dispels the idea that transnational and local ties are mutually exclusive (for example, Faist 2000). To focus on diaspora as a particular stance, claim or project complicates in a necessary manner the processes of identity construction that exemplify the experience of being 'differently territorialized'. It raises the need for better understanding of how immigrants recognize and live their connections with new and old homes through a range of multiple belongings and attachments (Ehrkamp 2005: 348).[5]

This standpoint is characteristic of the second emergent position on Indigenous diaspora that we could call "cosmopolitan". The general rationale of this position is its exploration of the analytical value of diaspora (made in terms of its relevance to contemporary transnational theory) in re-imagining the contours of urban Indigenous life as a *complex social space* that Clifford (2001) proposes we term "Indigeneity". This blends both conventional analysis of transnational systems and networks through the politics of globalization (on this from the perspective of the Garifuna diaspora, see England 1999) as well as more ethnographic oriented studies intent on unveiling the fluid processes of diaspora that destabilize the modern concept of identity as a fixed and stable 'thing' (Lawson 2000, McHugh 2000, Ní Laoire 2003: 277, Silvey 2004). It is the latter of these approaches focused on identity that I wish to pick up on here; this is because the emphasis such studies place on differences *between* diasporic subjects is the most critical

[5] Ronit Lentin (2002: 234) in discussing the ethnic make-up of contemporary Dublin has suggested that less emphasis should be placed on "home" when talking about diasporas than on "becoming", a perspective that would inherently involve the past, present *and* future.

in rethinking diaspora not as a social unit or "unitary sociological phenomenon" (Anthias 1998: 563) but as a "social condition," a form of experience that, in following Stuart Hall (1990), Paul Gilroy (1993) and others, seeks to work against bounded and primordial representations of identity of the like that shadow Indigenous people to this day.[6] To address the diasporic experience in this way, as an "Indigenous condition", works against organic, homogenous and racialized representations of Indigenous identity (cf. Lavie & Swedenburg 1996: 4). The way in which this has been applied to urban Indigenous situations has provided some unique insights and innovative forms of approach. Wilson and Peters (2005), for example, pick up on recent advances in migration theory to investigate the "contradictory relationship [First Nations peoples have] with the spaces of the modern nation" (2005: 397) through interviews with Anishinabek resident on reserve and in three urban centres in the province of Ontario, Canada. The grounding of research in this way provides the authors with unique insight into how places of attachment, belonging and identity are made in urban spaces by Anishinabek and how they relate to more expansive relationships that "stretch" beyond the urban to include and involve rural areas.

Another perspective that utilizes recent conceptualizations of migration has been offered by Roy Todd (2000/2001) in his exploration of urban mobility amongst First Nations peoples in British Columbia as a form of what he calls "internal transnationalism". Based upon the assumption that urban Aboriginal mobility represents movement between Nations, Todd draws on the work of Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999) to identify the diasporic significance "regular patterns of exchange of economic, social and cultural capital between [Aboriginals] in the cities and those elsewhere" (Todd 2000/2001: 54) have on the modern dynamics of Aboriginal societies. In doing so, he highlights the important role strategies of self-organization play in enabling "a growing and increasingly stable core of Aboriginal cultural and political activity in … cities" that help facilitate the "maintenance and renewal of Aboriginal cultural identity" which he notes, in parallel to other transnational movements, greatly improve processes of integration and adaptation for migrants to the dominant economy and society (Todd

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[6] McKeown (1999: 311) terms this understanding 'diaspora-as-diversity'.

2000/2001: 54).[7] Importantly, Todd is careful not to homogenize native populations in the city. From a position of sociological concern over service provision and social citizenship issues, he chooses to emphasize the level at which ethnic identity intersects with social categories such as class, gender, and age and the challenge it presents to compiling adequate census and statistical data for policy (2000/2001: 55-57, also see Todd 2001: 98-105).

Whilst heightened awareness of social diversity is particularly welcome, especially in the way that it begins to open up new horizons of analysis into the social condition of urban Indigenous life, what has yet to emerge and what I believe the field can benefit from is conceptual theorization that fully utilizes diaspora as a politically informed "heuristic device" (Anthias 1998, Walsh 2003: 4). Now, to the extent that, as above, issues of contingency and diversity have already started to be applied to urban Indigenous contexts, one could argue that in following the views of Floya Anthias (1998: 577-578) the 'heuristic potential' of diaspora is being realized and promises significant developments in the future. In response to this however I would contend that the number of studies is still few and what has been done has yet to forge any kind of dialogue between its principal proponents. When seen from this perspective, I believe a lot still remains to be achieved.

A Place-Based Framework of Diasporic Analysis for Urban Indigenous Situations

In particular, one avenue of urban Indigenous research that needs highlighting is the concept of *place*. As Patricia Ehrkamp (2005: 348-349) has recently pointed out, although the production of "new places" within transnational communities has been adopted as a major theme by transnational theorists (for example Guarnizo & Smith 1998, Vertovec 1999), a real understanding of place that goes beyond static representations of geographical locales or platforms for subject positions remains conspicuously absent. From the perspective of such work, place is still regarded as a

[7] Joan Weibel-Orlando in her groundbreaking analysis of Indian community in Los Angeles embellishes this point by showing how self run organizations played an important role in helping tribe members adapt to urban life during the relocation policies of the 1950s and 1960s. She writes: "Establishing social forms in the urban context that parallel familiar, viable, and significant social forms in the place of origin was a major strategy by which relocating Indians were able to effect a sense of cultural continuity in an unfamiliar and at times unforbidding social context" (Weibel-Orlando 1999: 88). For a broad introduction to the study of immigrant organizations see Schrover & Vermeulen (2005).

reactionary and stultifying site of inertia in comparison to the active and progressive dynamism of 'space' (Massey 1994: 111). Yet, significant gains are to be made from doing place-based, topographical analysis. A perspective open to the existential and experiential dimensions of place – as that which "lies at the intersection of different spaces and moments in time" as Ehrkamp puts it (2005: 349) – is to rethink the boundedness of place (and thus the "power-geometries" of space (Massey 1993)) and treat it as an open, contextual and contested concept (Hidle 2000). In this way, analysis of place is capable of delineating both 'local' and 'translocal' practices,[8] providing "the tools for considering the multiple scales that impinge on immigrants' lives, while simultaneously enabling us to consider the ways in which immigrants use such ties in order to create places for themselves" (Ehrkamp 2005: 349).

The politically progressive production or expectation of "differential geographies" (Castree 2004) of Indigenous peoples in urban areas pursued through the prism of place is neither problematic nor antithetical to the spirit of Indigenous cultures. Contrary to Clifford's reservations, it is *non sequitur* that from the perspective of 'home' communities such 'translocal' connectivity necessarily disrupts autochthonous claims to land if those claims are couched in the relational dynamics of belonging and cultural change that recognize place as an object of awareness maintained through *lived relationships* with the world (Basso 1996: 54). Indeed, the significance of urban relationships with "home" (and "home" with the city) cannot be underestimated, they are after all what energize the social space that stretches beyond local places and encompasses both urban and rural sites of cultural activity, social interaction and communal belonging. As Keith Basso elabourates in following Heidegger (1977), it is "solely by virtue of … relationships that space acquires meaning" (1996: 54). Indigenous peoples in urban areas are engaged in producing places and sites of belonging. They transform the urban environments in which they reside. How should we conceive of the processes that enable them to negotiate such identities and place-making activities? In the final section of this chapter, I turn to thinking of place-based relational dynamics as a way of theorizing diaspora in terms of urban Indigenous life.

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[8] I use 'translocal' here in place of 'transnational'. I do so in an attempt at creating a new vocabulary of terms with which to think about urban Indigenous issues.

Thinking Urban Indigenous Life *Relationally*: A Diasporic Framework

To recap the position on urban Indigenous life adopted thus far: notwithstanding difficult issues of marginalization and social atomization derived from the violence of displacement (Fabri 2000), it is evident that the basis upon which formalist economic models imagined migrants as "income maximizers" (Bell & Taylor 2004c: 263) failed to comprehend the impact of local contingency and the emergence of a "new kind of [Indigenous] modernity ... anchored in the present" (Lévesque 2003: 32) that has appeared in cities across the world. It is a form of modernity that reflects a particular urban experience shaped by the attendant structures and processes of self-organization and community that constitute the foundations of Indigenous place-making in urban centres. Although at every turn the unique pressures and stresses of large urban environments complicate efforts to foster a communal identity and a reliable network of social relations, attempts are continually made. This invites us to rethink the social ramifications of the demographic transition of Indigenous peoples in terms of how urban life is changing not only the way we approach and understand the category of 'mobility' within Indigenous societies but also the broader contexts of Indigenous life. What I mean to say, following James Clifford, is that significant patterns of long-term urban residence and the advent of generations of children being born and brought up outside of traditional communities suggest the replacement of "older forms of tribal cosmopolitanism" with more "properly *diasporic* forms" of Indigenous existence (my italics, Clifford 1994: 310).

After all, the confinement of Indigenous peoples to a particular segment of time and space represents a fundamental structural characteristic of the urban Indigenous experience. To take emergent forms of Indigenous sociality in urban areas seriously and initiate moves to legitimate that reality as an authentic *social condition*, a new way of viewing the conceptual relationship between space and time and ultimately place is required. This perspective demands that we reconsider our ideas about how space is constituted; a movement from maps demarcating discrete cultural zones to a relational and spatial conception of human interaction defined by relations of power that change through time. As Gupta and Ferguson (1997: 35) put it, "if one begins with the premise that spaces have *always* been hierarchically interconnected, instead of naturally

disconnected, then cultural and social change becomes not a matter of cultural contact and articulation but one of rethinking difference *through* connection" (original italics).

This raises a vital issue concerning the relational context of space as constituted in and through social interaction and within the context of this thesis the utility of rethinking Indigenous urbanism as a form of experience constituted in and through a fluid web of social interrelationships. I take my cue in developing this perspective from the work of the leftist, feminist geographer, Doreen Massey. Initially concerned with the value of locality-based studies in an era of globalization, Massey's position on space and spatiality as it has developed since the early 1990s has been to find a "third approach" beyond essentialist *and* (capitalist) relational geographies of identity.[9] For Massey, the differences between geographical spaces are socially constructed and the product of inter-place connections and social interaction at the local level. As she writes:

"Social relations always have a spatial form and spatial content. They exist, necessarily, both *in* space (i.e., in a locational relation to other social phenomena) and *across* space. And it is the vast complexity of the interlocking and articulating nets of social relations which is social space. Given that conception of space, a 'place' is formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location."

(original italics; Massey 1994: 168)

On this understanding, the identity of places are not static but conceived of as a dynamic field of social interrelations in which uniqueness does not derive from an essentialist identity but is constituted in the particular *intersection* of interrelations, a proportion of which will "stretch" beyond any specific locality (Gille 2001: 327, Massey 1994, 2004). In this, Massey's intention is to establish an anti-essentialist agenda whereby identities are unfixed. This forms the basis for a (new) progressive politics of place that cannot be "characterized by the recourse to some essential, internalized moment" (Massey 1994: 169). Identities and the places of which they are a part, are the product of a particular juxtaposition of social relations that are continually changing and productive of *new*

[9] Where relational geographies advocate, that is, ideas of free-market capitalism that remain "distinctly ageographical" (Castree 2004: 144).

social effects and processes. This does *not* mean that the past is irrelevant to identity only that our understandings change to recognize that it too was unfixed.

From Massey's perspective, the problem with assimilationist models of urban migration is that they falsely prioritize time over space. Teleological assumptions of progress and development woven into narratives of migration from the (rural, cultural, parochial) 'periphery' to the (urban, cosmopolitan, civilized) 'centre' augured the eventual demise of other social ways and systems of belonging. Time in an assimilationist context is predetermined; the contingency of social relations an anomaly to grander narratives. For Massey, such "immanent" models of temporality regard space as a localized vacuum of fixity and stasis in acquiescence to the dominant passage of Time (a knowing of how things will eventually end up). To engage with a truly open historical model of time as "a way of becoming ... open to multiple possibilities" (Boyle 2001: 432) requires a renewed understanding of space as a unique meeting point of multi-scalar, inter-cultural social relations that reinterprets space as "disruptive, active and generative" (Massey 1999: 274).[10]

For a study focused on understanding the diasporic processes of Indigenous sociality in urban areas, this has important consequences. The local, *place*-oriented dynamics of Massey's model underlines the juxtaposition of social relations as a particular site of emergence. In this regard: "Diasporic communities can be conceived as places where different stories – different *narratives* of nations, regions, cities, neighbourhoods and peoples – creolise and hybridise" (original italics; Boyle 2001: 439). In developing this issue, Mark Boyle (2001) in his excellent (re)theorization of the historical geography of nationalism in the Irish diaspora suggests that the notion of emergence as it stands remains a "chaotic concept". He suggests that Massey's intention at articulating the continuing production of newness in the world can benefit greatly from contextualization within the broader writings on diaspora. Of particular interest to Boyle is Avtar Brah's (1996) notion of *diasporic space*. The appeal of Brah's work lies in its dramatic contestation of the boundaries that are thought to distinguish the subject position of the migrant from the native resident as well as unify the members of the same social group. For Brah the 'diaspora space' "is the intersectionality of diaspora, border, and

[10] This reconceptualization of time and space Massey proposes we call *space-time*.

dis/location as a point of confluence of economic, political, cultural and psychic prosesses. It is where subject positions are juxtaposed, contested, proclaimed or disavowed" (1996: 208). Brah wishes to point out however that this space is "inhabited" not only by migrants but also by the native population. This underlines her wider point that diaspora space is intersected by relational categories of 'difference' (class, gender, age and so on) situated within what she calls "multi-axial fields of power relations" (1996: 209). It is along these lines that Indigenous migrants are variously positioned against/with native residents, other migrants *and* those at 'home'. Although Brah only considers the site of arrival so to speak (and, therefore, whole countries or cities) as indicative of diasporic space I think it important not to exclude those at 'home' from our thinking. Especially within the Indigenous context, the movement of Indigenous people into cities has also delineated the emergence of a new form of social space energized by the contingencies of diasporic social logic (Boccara 2003) that has destabilized the boundaries and identities of Indigenous societies. With the rate of migrancy currently reshaping the demographics of Indigenous populations, it will become increasingly important to know of life in the city in order to know of life 'on the land'.

Fundamentally, there are two main points that underpin the potential of such theorization for this thesis. Firstly, the heuristic utility of diasporic space allows us to open up the category of 'Indigenous migrant' (of 'Ainu') to the consideration of difference without losing its practical value (cf. Temple 1999: 21). Secondly, in doing so, it asks that we listen carefully to the experiences of migrants (as well as residents) implicated in a new world of meaning (Boyle 2001: 440). It is in this that we can begin again to trace the faint outline of Indigenous communities, "not situated in an immutable, bounded territory as a reservation is, but rather [as that existing] within a fluidly defined region with niches of resources and boundaries that respond to needs and activities, perhaps reflecting a reality closer to that of Native homelands prior to the imposition of reservation borders" (Lobo 2001b: 76). As I argue, in order to accept this relational formulation of identity, we must be open to the social logic of diasporic analysis and follow the reasoning that *it is less a matter of time than of space – the dynamics of social relations – that creates and instigates change.*

A Diasporic Framework: an outline

In conclusion, a question: in broad and preliminary terms, what does this conceptualization of place mean for the diasporic study of urban Indigenous issues? One way to fashion an answer would be to posit the following four claims:

1) *Urban-rural dichotomies are based upon false assumptions that history unveils:*
   i) The "urban" has always been a part of Indigenous spaces. From the colonial era on, connections forged through urban dynamics – policy, missionaries, traders, soldiers etc. – have played a role in the construction of places. More often than not, these have highlighted the unequal geometries of power between peoples and places.
   ii) It follows, therefore, that what may appear to be 'local' and 'traditional' are in fact the products of more 'extroverted' histories (cf. Friedberg 2001: 9; also see Brubaker 2004: 48-52). This presupposes not only the role of Jorgensen's (1971) 'Metropolis' in the dynamics of Indigenous societies but also history in ethnography (Gille 2001).
2) *The contemporary formation of urban Indigenous communities should be regarded in spatial terms as 'place-based' instead of in temporal terms as 'place-bound':*
   i) Urbanization, when understood to mean the spatial extension of Indigenous life, subverts the political construction of boundaries and in the process highlights their existence as differentiated forms of *social* or *cultural experience* (Hedberg & Kepsu 2003).
   ii) Focus on the place-making activities in urban centres draws attention to the local and translocal flow of social relations that intersect at a particular location and the new social processes that take effect because of them (Massey 1994: 117). In as much as such relations "stretch" beyond that 'place' it is possible to delineate the

development of channels of social communication and cultural, economic even political exchange with home communities.[11]

3) *Indigenous peoples formulate new contexts of social interaction that shape differing modes of engagement, organization, negotiation and relationships centred in the city. Research, therefore, should aim to articulate Indigenous processes of spatial appropriation, based on the fact that:*

   i) The relational context of urban Indigenous life redefines conventional notions of space and time, emphasizing the prevalence of "dynamic continuity" (what Massey would term 'emergence') over irrevocable change (assimilation theory). We can thus talk of "new appropriations of the city" (Lévesque 2003: 29), moving towards a mode of analysis that remaps the landscape of the city from the perspective of relations forged in and through a complex web of Indigenous social networks.

   ii) Life lived in urban areas is "open" in the sense of being capable of creating new places (through the intersection of local/extra-local social relations) that produce "new effects and new social processes" (Massey 1994: 117).

4) *And in addendum to 3, addressing the "implacement" of Indigenous peoples in cities, in terms of social relations, de-essentializes identity and foregrounds personal complexity and multiplicity:*

   i) Ethnography of urban Indigenous encounters foregrounds the importance of "multiple allegiances and belongings" (Ní Laoire 2003: 277) that intersect identity and the range of social relations and positionings (e.g. class, gender, age, sexuality etc.) that exemplify the plurality of experiences in diaspora.

   ii) To address *difference* is not to undermine nor argue against the Indigenous character of the social condition in the city but to better inform study of diasporic dynamics and the range of *trans-ethnic*

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[11] This position develops out of an increasing number of contemporary studies that are beginning to attest to the "artificial" and "imposed" distinction between rural and urban Indigenous life (Straus & Valentino 2001: 86).

> connections that seriously complicate ideas of substantialist *and* hybrid theories of identity (Anthias 2001).

From an ethnographic perspective, diaspora redefines the social geography of Indigenous communities as being inclusive of those relationships that "stretch" beyond its traditional, rural boundaries. Indigenous people are not simply occupants of space, 'placed-in-a-world' so to speak, but are human agents constituted through relations and engagements with the world and others. This position in itself affords greater attention to the historical and social dimensions of life in urban areas that reveal the *transformative* value of new and existent sites of Indigenous residence and community in cities and urban areas. Recognition of these links that intersect across "different axes of differentiation" (class, ethnicity, gender and so on) (Brah 1996: 209) helps foster a new way of understanding the social complexity embedded within urban Indigenous lives. It also foregrounds how diasporic analysis utilized as a conceptual tool can subvert conventional tropes of nationalism which have categorized forms of migration up until now and be used to uncover the "hidden side of modern history" (Arakaki 2002: 30).

Of course, in developing this perspective, I am not painting too colorful a picture of urban Indigenous life. The diverse and complex range of Indigenous experiences also account for the marginalization of Indigenous peoples.[12] At the same time, such subject positions energize, in a myriad of customary and emergent ways, lived relationships and new geographies of identity that "stretch" beyond the territorial boundaries of Indigenous societies. For better or worse, urban spaces are productive of a wide range of subject positions that necessitate a broader engagement of Indigenous research with studies of mobility and social theory. In the following chapters I turn to the specific case of Ainu in Tokyo to investigate the workings of such diasporic social logic through historical and grounded ethnographic research.

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[12] As Dahl and Jensen (2002b: 5) state the cycle of discrimination and marginalization experienced by the majority of Indigenous peoples is often accentuated in urban areas.

Part Two

Tokyo: an Ainu City

CHAPTER FOUR

Towards a History of Kantō Resident Ainu

In order to engage with the history and social dynamics of the urban Ainu experience in the Kantō region through a diasporic framework, two steps are required. First of all, in line with the framework's first claim, we need to critically examine the dominant image of autochthony that underpins conventional narratives of Ainu history. To do this, it will be necessary to problematize the anachronistic representation of Ainu within the dominant historical narrative of Japan and reveal the construction of Ainu 'difference' as dependent upon certain strategies and relations of authoritative power embedded within the writing of history (Skovsted Hansen 2004a). This discussion will disclose an evident conflation between *place*, *people*, and *community* as a defining trope for both dominant (nationalist) *and* alternative (Indigenous) narratives of Ainu history. Due to the inherent nature of that trope to "confine" Ainu history to northern Japan, I propose we replace it with a new tropic prism of *culture*, *identity* and *collectivity* through which history of Ainu in the capital region and throughout Japan for that matter becomes recognized as a natural extension of, not exception to, Ainu life in Hokkaidō. The relevance of this trope is not solely modern however. Its emphasis on movement and fluidity has historical merit as well. From this perspective, analysis demonstrates that Ainu communities or *kotan* have *never* simply been discrete, bounded spaces but, for the last several centuries at least, locations intersected by varying routes and networks of social relations. In doing this, we begin to recognize the fact that the "translocal connectivity" – the term is Castree's (2004) – of contemporary urban Indigenous contexts, the "stretching" between urban and rural areas, is not so 'new'.

A second step that refers more directly to the next three stages of the conceptual framework (and thus to issues of contemporary Ainu history in the capital covered in the latter half of this thesis) asks that we recognize *culture*, *identity* and *collectivity* as highly fluid and negotiable aspects of experience in contexts of movement. This means that a

relevant history of Ainu in the capital region is far less about a categorical conception of an "Ainu community" and "Ainu identity" in motion and more about a differentiated sense of individual belonging grounded in the social experience of disjunction rather than continuity and suggestive of personal networks of consociation that fundamentally problematize the relationship between *culture*, *identity* and *collectivity* (Amit & Rapport 2002). To echo Vered Amit's point in the introduction, it is disjunction (not continuity) which defines the contemporary history of Ainu migration to the capital. It informs the fundamental mode of sociality through which expressions and networks of connection started to emerge and be performed there. An emphasis on 'disjunction' draws extra attention to the social construction of places in 'translocal' areas and to the role they play in people's interpretations and lives as well as to highlight the new social effects and processes they evoke (Massey 1994: 117). Once again, this perspective foregrounds issues of difference, mobility and social complexity over those of primordialism, fixity and structure; essentially, categories of experience defined through and by a diasporic context that can provide an innovative approach *towards* thinking and writing Kantō resident Ainu history.

With regard to the structure of this chapter, it is obvious that my objectives for it, outlined above, are predicated on an initial need to revise Ainu history. Therefore it is to the subject matter of history that I turn first.

Rethinking Ainu History

Contemplating a brief yet insightful reading of 'Ainu history' is a rather daunting task for any researcher of Ainu issues faced with a fast growing library of works in Japanese. An appreciation for the highly marginal almost incidental understanding of the situation of Ainu in Tokyo within the historical texts however soon puts this undertaking in perspective for the researcher as one becomes aware of the need to think carefully about what a history of Ainu in the capital region would actually involve and, more pressingly at first, how it would relate to the field of Ainu history in general. This last point led me to seriously consider why it was the history and social dynamics of non-Hokkaidō Ainu had been overlooked and began to question what it is that historians actually do.

The Yale historian John Lewis Gaddis in his book *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (2004) suggests a cartographic metaphor for thinking about the work of historians: "For if you think of the past as a landscape, then history is the way we represent it, and it's the act of representation that lifts us above the familiar to let us experience vicariously what we can't experience directly: a wider view" (Gaddis 2004: 5). Gaddis (2004: 17-34) develops this notion of history to demonstrate how historians distill the experiences of others instead of replicating them in order to *represent* the landscape and therefore make the range of historical detail (that remains inexhaustible) comprehensible and empirically persuasive to a reader. Of course, as he is at pains to point out, there is or never will be "a single correct map" of any historical era or event; rather, the index of historical verification is to be found in "how well the mapmaker achieves a *fit* between the landscape that's being mapped and the requirements of those for whom the map is being made" (original italics; Gaddis 2004: 34). Thinking about Ainu history in such a way confirmed for me the validity of my reasoning that the lack of understanding regarding non-Hokkaidō Ainu history signified a different spatial frame of reference that historians had yet to address. It also prompted me to further question exactly what *fit* was being made between the landscape of Hokkaidō and historians and for what reasons. In attempting to formulate an answer, it occurred to me that the writing of history and the "requirements" associated with it were a product of 'the present' that needed to be investigated further.

'The Present'

At first, 'the present' is a rather difficult concept to understand because when discussing history time is the most obvious frame of reference but it is also the most problematic. Time is generally considered to substantiate the past *as* history and provide access to a past reality but is (beyond the realm of postmodernist critique) rarely thought about in terms of how historians and 'the present' they epitomize are a product of it. The upshot of this dilemma is summed up well by Bronwen Douglas in an editorial piece some years ago when she wrote how "'histories' are not 'the past' but narratives constructed about the past" (1996: 179). Without any intention to conflate this constructionist perspective of history with extreme forms of constructionism currently circulating in the work of

Keith Jenkins (1997, 1999) for example, it is important to recognize that the experience of the past as existent in the present draws particular attention to the temporal *and* spatial dimensions of 'the present' as an articulated site of mutual signification within conventional historiography, a 'Geertzian web' as Richard Jenkins puts it "in which we are all suspended, if not caught" (Jenkins 2002: 271). Conceiving of 'the present' thus, forces us to reinterpret its role as a social and political space in time which shapes the ways in which people interact with and maintain their histories.

With regard to Ainu history, adopting this understanding of 'the present' is advantageous as it takes issue with the hierarchical division of imagined national space and the social marginalization of Ainu. Public claims made by Prime Minister Nakasone in 1986 (echoed most recently in 2001 by high-ranking government ministers [see Siddle 2002: 417-418]) as to the homogeneity of the Japanese population and the assimilation of Ainu into Japanese society, for example, underline the extent to which 'Ainu history' and the hegemonic representations of space that inform it share broader concerns with the idea of history in the social sciences: simply put, how imagined national geographies shaped by political and economic attitudes "rearranges spatial differences into temporal sequence" and thus "implies that places are not genuinely different ... but simply 'behind' or 'advanced' within *the same story*; their 'difference' consists of only their place in the queue" (my italics; Massey 1999: 271). Although the emergence of an Ainu political movement in the last thirty-five years has challenged the basis of the homogeneous narrative and developed a new sub-field of history (what we might call Indigenous Political History) characterized by a reinterpretation of historical time based upon ideas of "Indigeneity" (Waldron 2003) and Indigenous rights, one significant limit to its political agenda has been its focus on Hokkaidō (and to a certain degree the Northern Territories) as an "imagined" *place* in the Andersonian sense of Ainu people and community that fails to account for the *real* geographies of Ainu life that extend across the Japanese archipelago.[1]

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[1] However, it must be stated that within Japan the issue of the 'Northern Territories', the four islands north and east of Hokkaidō claimed by Russia (known as *Hoppō Ryōdo* in Japanese), is rarely (if ever) discussed in relation to Ainu. Outside of Japan as well, this would seem to be the case. Noted commentators and academics fail time and again to reflect upon the historical context of the dispute and the rights of the original inhabitants, the Ainu, to constitute a third party in political negotiations (for example, Rozman

This contextualized approach to Ainu history is important in working towards a history of Kantō resident Ainu for two specific reasons. Firstly, by focusing on 'the present' as an important site in the making of history, the conventional distinction between past and present that legitimates the empirical mode of Ainu historiography is complicated. This kind of 'bracketing', to borrow a term from phenomenology, provides an opportunity to reflect upon the ideological influences and social context within which Ainu history has been previously conceived. In doing this, one soon learns of the implicit location of Ainu history within broader processes of social and political consciousness and the effect that this has had on popular understandings of Ainu society. Secondly, and by linking this assertion in with concern over the imagined "confinement" of Indigenous life to rural and peripheral areas of national geography raised in chapter 2, the history of Kantō resident Ainu is obviously incommensurable with the image of autochthony that underpins conventional Ainu history as it characterizes a different set of historical circumstances and social processes that demand a new diasporic rationale.

Re-Presenting Ainu History

To paraphrase Gaddis, the marginalization of Ainu history in the capital within conventional narratives of Ainu history suggests that there is something definitively wrong with the 'landscape' being mapped by Ainu historians. Perhaps, therefore, we should take a brief look at what 'landscape' we are actually talking about. In *Minima Ethnographica*, Michael Jackson's (1998) anthropological treatise on intersubjectivity, the author begins in the middle of a road journey in Central Australia. Pulled over so able to make notes, Jackson recounts how his Aboriginal friend seated beside him visually attends to the landscape and points to distinctive features in the surrounding hills and land in order to describe a Walpiri myth. Jackson notes that although the myth is from the past and described in the past tense, "the meaning of the myth is consummated in time present" (Jackson 1998: 2). In stating this, Jackson hints at an alternative interpretation of what history is, moving away from classical preoccupations with methodological excavation towards a more open and pluralistic understanding of history

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2002). For a progressive political position that seeks to include Ainu in a plan for the Northern Territories, see Ludwig (1994).

as a mode of interaction. The circulation and re-creation of Aboriginal 'history' in "time present" disrupts the authority of classical History based upon a past(passive)/present(active) dualism to highlight its articulation as a way of life "consummated" in a present time-frame. In a bid to contextualize the significance of Aboriginal historical practice for Western historians, the Japanese researcher Hokari Minoru (2002) develops this perspective further. He draws on the work of Tessa Morris-Suzuki (2001a) and his own field research in Gurundji country in Australia's Northern Territories to suggest that instead of dismissing the legitimacy of non-Western forms of history outright, disparate modes of history can find common ground in a distinction made between Historical Truth and Historical Truthfulness.[2] Whereas the former represents the colonial discourse of objective, empirical scholarship about past events, the latter he writes "requires of the historian openness and honesty about her present position and biases. Experiential historical truthfulness," he continues, "is open to the "other"" (Hokari 2002: 27). From the perspective of postcolonial studies, any such attempt to remain "open" and (to the extent one can) transparent with regard to the relations of power implicit within historical analysis characterizes a broader ambition indicative of contemporary academia to de-center history and re-conceptualize understanding about 'local pasts' (Hanlon 2003). In bringing this discussion back to the subject matter of this thesis however, what implications does this have for Ainu history?

Rereading the work of the Oxford scholar R.G. Collingwood whilst in Tokyo, I felt I had found the answer. In *The Idea of History*, a classic work in the philosophy of history first published (posthumously) in 1946, Collingwood highlights an early awareness of the understanding (above) that the historian is also a part of history and therefore "is a part of the process he is studying, has his own place in that process, and can see it only from the point of view which at this present moment he occupies within it" (Collingwood 1956: 248). With the historically situated condition of the historian established, Collingwood suggests that what predetermines this constructionist logic is the fact that no element of historical knowledge is unchanging. Because of this "every new generation must rewrite history in its own way; every new historian, *not content with*

[2] I am grateful to Mark Winchester for drawing my attention to the significance of Hokari's research. A bibliography of his work and profile of his life is available on-line at: http://www.hokariminoru.org/j/index-j.html

giving new answers to old questions, must revise the questions themselves" (my italics; Collingwood 1956: 248).

In formalizing an approach to Collingwood's assertion, I interpret the call to "revise" as the need to shift the focus of attention away from the articulation of 'questions' themselves to get at what has informed historical inquiry over time and thus subject to critical analysis the range of assumptions underpinning research that continue to construct and perpetuate a particular image of Ainu-ness. My goal in doing this will be to suggest how rethinking the presuppositions of previous historical analysis can conceptualize the basis for a history of Kantō resident Ainu. This will entail replacing a normalized mode of historical inquiry into Ainu society delimited by geographical and metaphysical boundaries with a renewed appreciation for the multiple geographies and trajectories of Ainu life and, therefore, an insistence upon a new language of mobility, experience and process that sets aside what I assume to be a dominant fixation with Time in Ainu history and the politics of Indigenousness for concern over Space and the 'lived dialectics' (between the urban and rural, roots and routes) of Indigeneity (Clifford 2001: 469-470).

In developing this approach, I believe we can point to an image of autochthony and a concomitant politics of identity conceived through an evident conflation between *place*, *people* and *community* as underpinning conventional narratives of Ainu history. The first and most prominent idea of '*place*' relates to the political geography of Ainu life and associated issues as confined to and by the boundaries of Hokkaidō and northern Japan. Whether it be from the perspective of government officials or Indigenous activists, Hokkaidō has underlined the natural order of all things 'Ainu' and acts as a form of territorialization through which Ainu culture is recognized as a symbolically "closed system" defined by its locality and history rooted in the land (cf. Malkki 1995: 508). This way of thinking, of implacing Ainu within their own world, may satisfy the fundamental demands of a wider political logic in the fight for international recognition as an Indigenous population (and establish, in the process, the grounds for new awareness about Ainu society), but it has also had the effect of marginalizing difference *within* Ainu

society, especially with regard to place of residence.[3] In this respect, the restriction of Ainu issues to Hokkaidō should always be regarded as a familiar social construct. DeChicchis (1995: 104-105) has usefully pointed out, for example, that the territorial limitations of *Ainu Mosir*, the term in the Ainu language for the Ainu homeland, has always been unclear even to Ainu themselves.[4]

Secondly, in terms of '*people*', naturalized ideas of belonging and identity based on this geographical referent frame an assumption regarding the historical ethnogenesis of Ainu society as an essentialist and primordial fact. This holds particular consequences for the way in which Ainu today are regarded – socially, politically and culturally – as *being* Ainu.

A third assumption, constitutive of the first two, involves '*community*' and wields metaphysical and moral dimensions. It attributes to Ainu a "traditional" and therefore environmentally determined way of life at some stage in the past; delineating a mode of collective co-habitation and cultural belonging lived in and through a finite set of traditional ecological relationships with particular places.

Although it goes without saying that the heuristic conflation I am proposing between *place*, *people* and *community* cannot necessarily accommodate or account for all works located within the burgeoning field of Ainu history, it serves nevertheless to reflect a key set of received ideas about Ainu life and society that demarcate two oppositional categories of history about Ainu, one written from the perspective of the nation-state that I call 'National History' and another from a more recent Indigenous point of view that I address as 'Indigenous Political History'.

Two Categories of Ainu History

'National History'

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[3] In general terms, the formation of a northern boundary around Ainu issues and subjectivity has been implicated in a struggle over representation. This is comparable in many respects to what Alan Cairns has called a "rhetoric of contrast" (Cairns 2000: 99) that distorts the reality of interaction between ethnic groups within societies through attributions of uniqueness and separateness that accentuate the politics of difference. For Ainu, the politics of contrast has taken multiple forms over the years from policies of actual segregation to implicit discrimination in popular discourse. All have shared however a common geographical trait that has characterized, over the centuries, the Tsugaru Strait as a political boundary.

[4] The meaning of *Ainu Mosir* is usually translated as 'Land of Peaceful Humans'; "from *mo-*, a prefix meaning peaceful or small, and *sir*, meaning land, island, or mountains" (Kayano 1994:165).

What is 'National History' and how have Ainu been represented by it? Let us begin with an example. In a New York Times interview published in 1956, an Ainu village elder addresses the issue of Ainu migration to urban areas as a leading factor in the "disappearance" of Ainu culture. Due to the fact that the majority of Ainu are unable to carry on with "traditional" activities such as hunting and fishing the elder states, "there is a drift to the cities where young Ainu tend to lose their racial identity" (Trumbull 1974: 457). The 'tendency' the elder refers to, qualified by its immediate association with social loss and racial assimilation, feeds into the wider historical discourse outlined in chapter one regarding the inevitable decline of Ainu culture and the Ainu as a race.[5] In this regard, the elder's assertion is directly implicated in the normalized hegemonic representation of Ainu life confined by "tradition" to isolated places in Hokkaidō and therefore peripheral to the politics of the nation-state. It represents, in other words, the fundamental view of Ainu life within the common narrative of 'National History'.

Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney (1998) in an article on the symbolic construction of Japanese identity, discusses the exotic representation of Ainu in a series of *Ainu-e* ('Ainu portraits') dating from the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries (see Sasaki 1993, 1999; also Dubreuil 2004) as evidence of how Ainu were historically represented as "wild nature" and marginalized by an emergent agrarian ideology that from the late Edo period on began to equate (and eventually naturalize) the idea of a primordial Japanese self with rice and agriculture.[6] She suggests that the 'backward' and 'primitive'

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[5] On the 3rd of September 1886, the Hakodate newspaper in Hokkaidō was to frame the ideological current of the following century when it wrote: "According to the principle of the survival of the fittest, as civilization advances superior races succeed while inferior ones die out … This can clearly be seen these days in the case of the Ainu, that is to say, the natives" (quoted in Siddle 1996: 76). Thus it became the state of affairs that "[b]y the 1920s it was a rare voice that prefaced any article on the Ainu without the seemingly obligatory reference to the 'dying race'" (Siddle 1996: 77). Indeed, beyond the 1920s, reference to the Ainu as a 'dying race' continued seemingly unabated. In 1968 for example, *National Geographic* published Sister M. Inez Hilger's article "Mysterious 'Sky People': Japan's Dwindling Ainu" in a special edition entitled *Vanishing Peoples of the Earth* that later found its way, rather paradoxically, into the title of Hilger's 1971 book *Together with the Ainu: A Vanishing People*. Such 'knowledge' has had a distinct bearing on the social reality and public views of Ainu in Japan and examples abound not least in conversation with Japanese even today. Having inculcated itself firmly within public and intellectual systems of knowledge, the dying race theory became the underlying rationale for the majority of scientific and anthropological research on Ainu in the twentieth century.

[6] For a broader approach to the visual representation of 'Otherness' in Japan see Nakar (2003) and from a more historical perspective Toby (1998). Also, Tsuda's (2003) article on the media representation of *nikkeijin* ('return migrants') provides an interesting case study of how "otherness" continues to be appropriated by a dominant narrative of Japanese ethnicity and culture.

representations of Ainu conceived of in relation to the developing image of the Japanese as an 'advanced' and 'civilized' agrarian race be contextualized by the "second conjuncture" in Japan's history that brought the country into contact with the Western world after centuries of isolation.[7] The encounter with Western civilization introduced ideas of rationality and "enlightenment" to Japan that came to play a major part in the establishment of Japan's borders and the hierarchical division of the nation's space in time. As a result of this, Ainu alongside other minority populations became what Ohnuki-Tierney terms an "Internal Other":

"As the Japanese realized that they were behind Westerners in "progress" toward enlightenment, they saw themselves ahead of their internal other – the Ainu. It is this dialectic between the self and external other that colored the way the Japanese perceived and treated the Ainu. They adopted the unilinear evolutionary theory and anxiously gauged their own progress, for which the primitive Ainu served an important role."

(Ohnuki-Tierney 1998: 50)

The transposition of Ainu difference after the Meiji Restoration from a matter of space (geography) to a matter of time (development) serves as an acute index to the political formation of Japan as a modern nation-state. In her detailed historical exploration of the frontiers of Japan as signifiers of national identity, Tessa Morris-Suzuki (1994, 1996: 58-63, 1998) draws attention to the thought of the Meiji scholar Fukuzawa Yukichi (1805-1901) and his concept and vision of *bunmei* ('civilization') through which the regional diversity of Japanese society became homogenized into a single narrative of enlightened development defined by several stages of progress.[8] The structural and hierarchical implications of this ideology not only helped consolidate power in the capital of Tokyo and demarcate central Japan as the nation's modern core but also underpinned the rationale of later Meiji government policies of assimilation that sought to 'Japanize' Ainu as well as educate and civilize other peripheral populations considered less advanced (see for example, Matsuda 2003, Wong 2004).

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[7] The first conjuncture being Japan's contact with China.

[8] The notion that by studying the social and geographical periphery one can better study the central idea of Japanese identity is shared by Oguma (1998) in his exploration of the boundaries of Japaneseness.

The political evolution of 'National History' in Japan has consistently sought to erase Ainu and other forms of social Otherness from popular historical consciousness. Beyond the evident trait of 'forgetfulness' – naturalized through mechanisms of governmental power such as education policy – that one continues to encounter in conversation with Japanese, national expressions of this ideology have played an important part in discounting claims of social alterity. Richard Siddle (1996: 162-163) describes how events organized in Hokkaidō in 1968, for example, to commemorate the centennial of the Meiji Restoration and, by association, the 'founding' of Hokkaidō, largely excluded Ainu from 'history'. Siddle contends that far from representing an act of oversight on the part of officials, the commemoration was informed by a pervasive discourse of "historical amnesia" demonstrating how the events were actually about retelling the common narrative of how Hokkaidō "had been and remained merely geographical space to be claimed and Japanized for civilization" (Siddle 1996: 163). Such "amnesia" has over time valorized the stories of those migrants from the mainland who took part in the mass colonization schemes of the Meiji government and thus the development of Hokkaidō from the 1870s-on whilst dismissing the role of Ainu (Higashimura 1999, Tanaka 1986: 4-5, Young 1998: 96).[9]

It is the case that the self-confident language of modern nationhood was simultaneously writing the Ainu into and yet, by logical implication, out of, a narrative history of the nation. The political momentum that by the turn of the twentieth century had institutionalized Ainu as *kyūdojin* or 'former Aborigines' within the *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin Hogohō* (Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act) and provided colonial strategists with the legal and moral right to re-imagine Ainu territory as empty,

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[9] The hegemonic salience of National History discourse within the Japanese public imaginary should not be underestimated. In a research report from 1980, for example, entitled 'A Study on Migration and Development in Hokkaidō' prepared for an international seminar held under the auspices of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities and Nihon University Population Research Institute, the first lines of the preface, referring directly to Hokkaidō, read: "To migrate to a land where no man has ever lived before and develop it into an environment suitable for permanent habitation is no easy feat". The utter dissolution of Ainu existence here in terms of the island's history continues to this day and reflects the more general politicization of Japanese geography. Yet, such 'history' is a complete misrepresentation of the social aspects of migration to Hokkaidō as it is well documented that in fact many mainland migrants had to rely upon the help and hospitality of Ainu in order to adapt to the harsh environment and climate. In 1890, Watanabe Zenji even authored an Ainu-Japanese dictionary entitled *Hokkaidō Dōjin Tsūgo* (The Language of the Hokkaidō Natives) to aid communication (Skovsted Hansen 2004b: 40). For an evocative illustration of such an encounter between Honshū migrants and Ainu during the era of colonization, see Murakami Haruki's (1989) novel *A Wild Sheep Chase* [Hitsuji o meguru bōken] pp. 200-207.

uninhabited space (*terra nullius*), effectively assigned Ainu the fate of Australian Aborigines in being 'exiles of Time' (Amos 2005: 4-7): "consigned to the past, but not to history" (Attwood 1996: xii; quoted in Hinkson 2003: 297).

'Indigenous Political History'

As the twentieth century progressed, however, and the direction of international events challenged 'National Histories' across the world, the authoritative narratives of national identity that sustained them started to unravel. Japan was no exception. The 1960s and 1970s was a period of widespread protest and public disorder across the country. Campaigns against the US-Japan Security Treaty, the Vietnam War, corruption and environmental pollution mobilized popular public support (Horsley & Buckley 1990: 72-108). It is in this era of social and political activism that the roots of an Ainu counter-narrative of history also started to appear and challenge the dominance of 'National History'.[10] Through the writings of Ainu activists such as Yūki Shōji, Hiramura Yoshimi and Hatozawa Samio as well as the actions of organizations like the *Ainu Kaihō Dōmei* (Ainu Liberation League), the suppression of Ainu agency and ethnicity in historical texts became a focal point of contestation and resistance (cf. Miyoshi 1994: 192; also see Kinase 2002). Essentially, a new political awareness of Ainu subjectivity started to emerge that challenged the hegemonic representation of Ainu as the "remnants of "Japan's prehistory"" (Morris-Suzuki 1998: 32). No longer the assimilated 'Other', a small but increasing number of Ainu started to assert an ethnic identity that in the process of formation initiated moves to reinterpret the ethnic status of Ainu as a 'people' (*minzoku*). During the 1980s, this became the platform for a new phase in Ainu activism characterized by the attendance of Ainu at the WGIP and other international forum in an attempt to attain political recognition as an Indigenous population from the international community and Japanese government and, as such, gain the fundamental right to self-determination (Dietz 1999: 360).

The foremost strategy implicit to this movement set about renegotiating the Ainu relationship to the official timeline of 'National History' of which government

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[10] This period was also characterized by what John Lie (2001: 140) describes as "a powerful centrifugal force against assimilation" by other ethnic minorities in Japan including Burakumin, Chinese, Korean and Okinawans.

assimilationist policies had made them a part. A new politically informed discourse started to re-think modern Ainu history as "colonial history" (Hanazaki 1996: 130, Uemura 2001) and thus the Ainu relationship to Time as one of Indigenous attachment to the "homeland" of Hokkaidō.[11] In parallel to the changing situations of Indigenous populations around the world, this understanding publicly challenged the normalized image of Ainu destitution as an evolutionary consequence of modernization and national development (*kaitaku*) by refiguring it as a process of institutionalized discrimination and violence. The Ainu elder and first Ainu elected to serve as a member of parliament, Kayano Shigeru, affirms this shift in historical perspective in his autobiography when he notes that it is not the Ainu who have "intentionally forgotten their culture and their language. It is the modern Japanese state that, from the Meiji era on, usurped our land, destroyed our culture, and deprived us of our language under the euphemism of assimilation" (Kayano 1994: 153).

Embedded within Kayano's statement lies the organizing rationale of 'Indigenous Political History' that essentially works against representations of Ainu that "minimize their historicity" as David Howell (2000a: xvi) has put it. Of course, the disentanglement of historical analysis from the politics of representation draws attention to wider developments in the social sciences that have reworked the way in which we now conceive of "difference" in the world. After all, the general premise of postcolonial analysis has rested upon the realization of a "fuller recognition of difference" (Massey 1999: 271). Representative of this movement is the work of New Western historians in the United States like Richard White, Donald Worster and Patricia Nelson Limerick for example who have characterized the idea of the "frontier" as "a middle ground", a borderland of interpenetrative influence from both "native" and national sides (Mitchell 1998). With regard to Ainu history, the critical utility of this approach developed in and through attention to issues of ethnic diversity as well as the effects of human-environmental interaction has been employed most expertly by Brett Walker (2001a) in his book *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion*

[11] The political orientation of this movement as it entered the 1980s was characterized by its alignment with the international Indigenous campaign that was seeking to transform the social, political and legal status of Indigenous peoples under international law from one of "objects without recognition" to "Indigenous subjects with rights" (Cooper 2003: 17).

1590-1800 (but also see Howell 2000b). Walker uses the idea of the "middle ground" to develop an "Ezo-centered approach" to Ainu-Japanese relations that allows the author to demonstrate how, over a period of about two hundred years, "the Ainu degenerated from a relatively autonomous people, willing to spill blood for their land and way of life, to a miserably dependent people plagued by dislocation and epidemic disease" (Walker 2001a: 11). Although the historical focus of this work is Early-Modern Japan, the Ainu-centric view of an ancestral homeland that Walker develops resonates with the same range of socio-political and economic intentions that inform the current activities of the Ainu Indigenous movement. In doing so, however, it has followed the broader ethical paradox of ethnic politics in failing "to move beyond a notion of difference structured in polarizing binarisms and an uncritical appeal to a discourse of authenticity" (Bulmer & Solomos 1998: 828). In other words, it has reproduced a geographical referent to Ainu life that, within the context of contemporary Japan, has suppressed internal differences and delimited the possibility of multiple trajectories of Ainu existence by tying a transhistorical sense of authentic Indigenous belonging and identity to the (home)land of Hokkaidō.

Re-Introducing Space: the Diasporic Geographies of Modern Ainu History

Although utilized in markedly different ways, it is easy to identify how these two categories of history both employ a convoluted trope of *place*, *people* and *community* in establishing their political rationale. From a 'Nationalist' perspective, Ainu represent a primitive people, distinctly other to the 'civilized' mainlanders, who existed *in situ* within the wilderness of Hokkaidō and along the northern frontier with Russia prior to colonization and who gradually 'died out' as the cultural practices that sustained their traditional way of life disappeared and intermarriage with Japanese assured their racial assimilation into the majority population. Of course, it needs to be emphasized that this historical representation derives much of its political legitimacy from the broader discourse of Japaneseness and the predominant conviction it informs regarding the country's ethnic homogeneity (Lie 2000: 81-84; also McVeigh 2004: 23-39).

For 'Indigenists' (Ainu and their supporters) however, the relationship between people and place was an Indigenous one that had been violently fractured by the

colonization of their 'homeland' by the Wajin. 'History' tells the narrative of how the traditional Ainu way of life (lived in and through intersubjective relations with the natural environment) had been undermined and disrupted by Meiji assimilationist policies and related government action. Alongside an increasing network of relations with other Indigenous peoples around the world, recognition of Ainu Mosir as *the* geographical referent of Ainu life underlines a constructed sense of community (what Siddle [1996: 172-179, 1997: 34-40] terms "nationhood") amongst Ainu as the Indigenous inhabitants of the land.

Although the strategic articulation of essentialist identities embedded within these histories support divergent political motivations that require special attention, the implications of such understanding based upon a rooted and fixed metaphor of place, primordially grounding Ainu within the boundaries of Hokkaidō, cannot adequately address routes of movement and mobility that intersect contemporary Ainu society and simultaneously subvert the politics of 'locality' and the dominant metaphor of Indigenous confinement associated with it. Despite the social significance and clear relevance of this logic, I discovered time and again in conversation with both Wajin and Ainu in the field that any discussion about Ainu devoid of the territorial referent of Hokkaidō quickly fell back upon essentialist ideas of cultural authenticity (and thus the impossibility of 'real Ainu' in Tokyo) that underlined for me the complexity of re-conceptualizing the post-war history of Ainu migration based upon a metaphor of mobility instead of fixity. Geography, it seemed, or as it was being imagined anyway, precluded the possibility of an alternative Ainu modernity in operation in mainland cities. For Tokyoites, Ainu could only be Ainu as they were 'at home' and therefore only "authentic" if they were (from) *there* not *here*.

Although one might suppose the opposite, the assumptions that inform this position do not diverge that greatly from current theorizing in anthropology. From an anthropological perspective, the shift in disciplinary interest from local proximity and propinquity to the social dynamics of dissociation and multi-sited ethnography has not necessarily engendered a fundamental transformation in theory or practice. In parallel with the concerns of Arif Dirlik (1999, 2004) over the problematic reification of diasporic communities in academic and popular discourse, Vered Amit (2002) has put forward the

argument that in lieu of the anthropological proclivity for place, collectivity and collective identity have provided a 'new' if ambiguous anchor for research into the social processes of transnationalism and mobility. For Amit this has meant that: "In anthropology's dogged search for new 'delocalized' peoples the discipline seems in danger of reproducing the fictitiously integrated fields that were once derived from an association between place and culture" (Amit & Rapport 2002: 3).

Now, at first glance, Amit's position (along with Dirlik's) may seem rather perplexing. In contrast to the fixity and contiguity of local ethnographies from the past, the problematization of territory, culture and society associated with research on de-territorialized peoples would suggest the emergence of new concepts of sociality (for example, Appadurai 1991, Gilroy 1993). Amit is keen to point out however that notwithstanding a general acknowledgement of "flux and motion" what seems to have presupposed such research is a "persistent subtext of unity and stability" which she goes on to contend "bears more than a little resemblance to a familiar representation of peoplehood that we have spent a lot of time criticizing as far too bounded, continuous and internally articulated" (Amit 2002: 36-37). As a departure from this paradigm of 'mobility as continuity' Amit proposes an ethos of disjunction as the dominant grammar of travel and migration. In these terms, the experience of separation, severance and reconfiguration that migration entails is regarded as largely overlooked and under-theorized in anthropological research. Whichever way one may choose to frame the migratory experience it is, she writes, "disjunction, the break, however temporary, with previous relationships and contexts, with the familiar and the local, an embrace of new situations and possibilities that is valorized as a hallmark of this form of movement, not continuity and integration" (Amit 2002: 35).

The articulation of disjunction as a primary dynamic of the situation of Ainu in Tokyo should not be confused with the 'exclusion' or 'exile' of Ainu from "home" communities. Disjunction does not (necessarily) signify ostracism or even dislocation. On the contrary, it focuses more acutely on social communication and connections but from a relational and, therefore, place-based perspective and in such a way as to de-essentialize the ascribed "groupism" (Brubaker 2004) of identity by underlining the improvised and constructed nature of Ainu activity and history in and around Tokyo. As

an analytical concept drawn from ethnography, it suggests and hints at the fact that there is nothing 'natural' about the history of Ainu self-organization, political activism and cultural revitalization in Tokyo. As I come to demonstrate in the following chapter, it is only through differing channels and modes of social interaction engaged in by a number of individuals that an identifiable Ainu population in the capital came into being at all and Tokyo became a site of Ainu sociality. In contrast to the apparent seamlessness with which we are told a distinct Maori group identity took hold in urban areas across New Zealand that quickly facilitated the generation of new forms of social organization (Barcham 2000: 143), the formation of Ainu organizations in Tokyo was relatively informalized and indeterminate and the notion of a coherent group identity far from straightforward. While many may immediately point to this fact as primary evidence of the integration or assimilation of Ainu in the city, I contend that we can also look at it as evidence of what Kevin Robins (2001: 490-491) terms the "principle of urbanity": the "open and changing multiplicity" of urban contexts that reconfigure the stability of the nation (what we could term a 'political Ainu community') to promote "important possibilities for cultural unsettling and transformation". This perspective gives precedence to experience over abstract categories of identification. After all, to assume the existence of an "authentic" Ainu identity is to deny the effect of Japanese colonization on Ainu society and disallow Ainu claims to their own identity (cf. Weedon 2004: 50-53; also see Friedman 2001: 68). As the Ainu musician Kanō Oki (2003: 163-164) has put it, it is no longer possible to think of there being only one type of Ainu. Thus in thinking about the structure of Ainu life in Tokyo it is imperative to replace an image of multi-ethnic co-presence (i.e. interaction between spatially distributed groups) with a more complex analysis based upon differentiated and intersecting "pluricultural" identities (Watanabe & Fischer 2004: 6-7).[12]

In this regard, the configuration of Ainu places in Tokyo – sites of ceremonial practice, a restaurant, meeting rooms, spaces for cultural revitalization and so on – is construed as a spatial dynamic grounded in and through the particular intersection of

[12] Tooker (2004) in a paper on the transformation of collective identity amongst Akha in Northern Thailand talks about this process in terms of the "modular/compartmentalization" of Akha identity reserved for special occasions and social domains. For an idea of what might underpin a future theory of 'pluricultural ethnography', see Fukushima's (1998) thought provoking adaptation of Eigen's work on autocatalysis.

social interrelations; "more of an event than a thing" as Escobar (2001: 143) puts it. This attention to place is of critical importance as it suggests the "historicity of identity" (Dirlik 1999: 121). What this means is that as people encounter places and thus become entangled in the interrelations that define and demarcate their existence, history is actively rewritten and the future transformed by trajectories of their own making (Dirlik 1999: 120-121). In other words, when viewed through the social prism of place-based interaction, we must remain open to the fact that historical encounters change cultural identities. This focus on place will come to underpin a critique of substantive ideas of an Ainu identity as an unchanging, pre-given entity by foregrounding its formation as a highly personalized and relational process often experienced in conflict or negotiation with a socialized understanding of oneself as Japanese (see Sjöberg 1993: 45-49, Ui 2001). Underpinned by the geographical difference in regional backgrounds, the cosmopolitan complexity of the urban environment and the personal and individual circumstances of Ainu in Tokyo ensured that people were brought together by what they believed they shared rather than by what divided them from others allowing a fluid sense of mutual inclusion to operate above and beyond a strict boundary of ethnic division between us (Ainu) and them (Wajin).

In developing the history below, this assertion suggests that the meaning of an Ainu identity in the capital region is *primarily* caught up in processes of consociation founded through an "affective charge from actual relationships of intimacy" with family and friends (Amit 2002: 60), an approach that accounts for difference without dismissing the possibility of ethnic alliance. Furthermore, it is only in and through these affiliations that identification with an imagined concept of collective belonging is developed. This approach circumvents the conceptual conveniences of cultural holism to share with Brubaker (2004: 11) an interest in an 'ethnicity without groups' and a focus on the practical processes of differentiated experience that produce, change and sustain the social and political relevancy of a collective.[13]

[13] Although I am unable to elabourate on Brubaker's work here, for an extended discussion of his thinking see the debate between Craig Calhoun and Brubaker in the journal *Ethnicities* (2003: 3(4)).

Integrating Relational History with the Strategies of Indigenous Politics

Before seeing how this approach enables us to better work *towards* a history of Kantō resident Ainu however, an obligation to counter a familiar challenge that strikes at the heart of any attempt at writing urban Indigenous history presents itself. Namely: on what ethical grounds is it possible to de-center Ainu history from the political and territorial constraints of a geographical locale and legitimate the lived experience of non-Hokkaidō Ainu, without dismissing the historical and cultural attachment to 'the land' of Hokkaidō and the essentialist strategies fundamental to Indigenous empowerment that rely upon the articulation of those very constraints?[14]

Obviously, from an objective standpoint, the dilemma posed by this question is inherently modern, reflecting the "dual orientation" of present day academics "as both *analysts* and *protagonists* of identity politics" (original italics; Brubaker 2004: 33). At a more politicized level however, informed by the processes of disjunction noted above, it is also about the need for a radical understanding of difference, one that can move beyond the imagined authority of geographical hegemony and establish how an essentialist strategy employed for political purposes by a marginalized group *can* exist without denying the internal (and thus individuated) differences of its members (Spivak 1990). In following Benedict Kingsbury (2000) in his call for a relational interpretation of Indigenous self-determination, an appropriate response can be grounded in relationships and, therefore, place. By focusing on culture, identity and collectivity we are not dismissing the importance or cultural significance of ancestral places. Instead, we are re-focusing our attention on place as a *relational* concept informed by the social realities of life that include an increasing number of people who leave their homes and ancestral lands, thus foregrounding "the tensions between movement and attachment, displacement and re-construction, identity and belonging that many people live with" (Harcourt & Escobar 2002: 12). In applying this dimension of place to our theorization of migration, displacement and mobility, identity is refigured as a processual production of "becoming" as well as "being" (Hall 1992) that draws our attention to that "sense of *disjunction* between who and where we are in the world" (my italics; Ward 2003: 87) through which

[14] For a broader discussion of the issues at play regarding the politics of Native American ethnohistory, see Sheridan (2005).

'home' and the idea of place associated with it gradually comes to be redefined as an elastic term; putting more emphasis on 'where you are at' rather than 'where you are from' (Dirlik 2004, Gilroy 1990/91).

Although the main focus of this trope – culture, identity, collectivity – is to do with post-war Ainu migration to the capital, I do not suggest that a distinction can be drawn between a purer and simpler pre-modern Ainu society (indicative of people, place and community) and a more complex contemporary situation. For sure, the dynamics of Ainu life have changed in relation to history and Ainu life does not resemble how it was several hundred years ago but I want to show that concepts of culture, identity and collectivity have always had precedence throughout Ainu history. By rethinking early modern Ainu life with this trope one begins to see that Ainu *kotan* were in fact never primordial or "introverted" spaces of 'culture' but highly "extroverted" and embedded within varying routes and networks of relations with other peoples and other places. It is my position that the connections of primarily trade goods that stretched between Ainu *kotan* and mainland urban centres at this time were a precursor to the lived relationships that now demarcate the space between rural Ainu communities and urban areas. To elucidate this point, let us turn to analysis of Ainu history from an "extroverted" standpoint.

STEP 1 – Ainu Ethnogenesis: An Extroverted History

The critical dynamics of *culture*, *identity* and *collectivity* that I recognize as mobilizing and sustaining the social processes of Ainu life in the capital region have been present throughout Ainu history. This in and of itself is not a significant departure from previous research but a new perspective on historical and archaeological evidence that demonstrates how the regional development of Ainu culture and cultural practice was a lot less 'primordial' than is commonly believed and deeply implicated in routes of inter/intra-regional connections and relationships that provoke us to rethink timeless traditions as the product of "extroverted" histories (Massey 1994). In contrast to Friedman's (2002) general misgivings over such reasoning (echoed by Nash 2004: 165), the purpose of this approach is not to undermine the Indigenous development of Ainu relationships with the environment over time, but instead to question the essentialist and

bounded characteristics of places as well as the more convoluted arguments surrounding cultural authenticity.

As I have already touched upon, the image of the Ainu as a primitive and isolated people was a politically informed representation inextricably linked to the formation of the "Ainu problem" in nationalist discourse towards the end of the nineteenth century (Hudson 1999b: 207; Siddle 1996: 77). In stark contrast to this exclusionary understanding however, historical and archaeological scholarship on Ainu ethnogenesis has been keenly aware of the wider context in which the social and cultural aspects of Ainu life emerged; delineating the various forms of ethnic interaction and trade both with Japanese to the south and peoples to the north (Takakura 1960: 13-16).[15] Hudson (1999a: 74, 80; 1999b: 206-232) has taken this point further to suggest that the defining characteristics of Ainu development in Hokkaidō dating as far back as 100 B.C. can be linked in the first instance to increasing relations with Wajin and then in medieval times to the participation of Ainu in an increasingly complex network of relations that served to circumscribe the functional rationale of a larger East Asian world-system.

Adopting trade as a primary focus of Ainu life adds an important dimension to the traditional idea of Ainu as a hunter-gatherer people as it forces us to reconsider the economic and social dynamics contributing to the ethnogenesis of Ainu society. The emergence of a recognizable Ainu culture by the fourteenth century was based on the replacement of pottery making skills and knowledge with iron based commodities – cooking pots, swords etc. – that Ainu obtained in trade with the Wajin (Howell 2000a: xviii). In exchange for these coveted items that Ainu grew ever more dependent on, Ainu were able to trade with items acquired through geographically extensive networks of trade. To the north, Ainu had been in contact with Uilta and Nivkh peoples on the island of Sakhalin since at least the pre-Ainu period (eighth to thirteenth centuries). Macé (1998: 37-38) notes that in Ainu *yukar* (oral epics) descriptions of contact and conflict with *Repun kur* (meaning 'foreigner' or in this context 'high sea people') probably refers to that period in history dated by the archaeological excavation of Hokkaidō pottery that resembles the remnants of pottery found along the Okhotsk seacoast (also see Philippi

[15] This approach closely reflects what Torrence and Clarke (2000) have termed in relation to the historical study of cross-cultural interaction in Oceania as "the archaeology of difference".

1979: 40-44). We know with more historical certainty however that by the middle ages Ainu had started to participate in the so-called 'Santan Trade' through the Uilta and Nivkh that enabled Ainu to obtain Chinese silk, beads and gems from the lower Amur river region that were later traded along with traditional goods such as salmon, kelp and animal skins to Wajin (as far south as Osaka) for rice and *sake* (Hudson 1999a: 79, Ishige 2001: 108, Ohnuki-Tierney 1999: 241, Takakura 1960: 14, Tezuka 1998: 353). Alongside this trade link a second route extending through the Kurile Islands was also in operation that brought sea otter skins and feathers down to Hokkaidō from Kamchatka (Tezuka 1998: 352).

The influence of these trade relations on Ainu society should not be underestimated. Takakura (1960: 22) suggests that as Ainu villages gradually expanded and broke away from each other, village chiefs could no longer rely solely upon lineage for their social and political dominance but also needed to command wealth and the means of economic production in order to maintain power. In this way as relationships with outsiders strengthened, trade started to play an increasingly important role in the maintenance of Ainu life as well as instilling within Ainu society a hierarchical division based upon material resources (Takakura 1960: 23). Trade, and the economic prerogative that it gradually engendered, also ensured that personal benevolence and generosity became of "paramount moral value" within Ainu society (Ohnuki-Tierney 1999: 245). This form of social "practice" as Ohnuki-Tierney calls it, is grounded in the relational structure of the Ainu worldview wherein deities (*kamuy*) send food to *Ainu Mosir* or disguise themselves as plants, animals and objects in order to give themselves to Ainu so they may eat and survive. In response, Ainu conducted various ceremonies throughout the year to thank and please the *kamuy* and perpetuate the cycle of generosity initiated by the *kamuy* (Ainu Minzoku Hakubutsukan 1994: 20-21, Kinsley 1995: 34-41). The most elabourate ceremony was the *iyomante* or Bear Ceremony (Akino 1999: 248-251, Batchelor 1927: 205-212, Honda 2000: 172-230, Ikeya 1997, Ishige 2001: 132, Kimura 1999, Kitagawa 1961, Maraini 1996, Munro 1963: 169-171, Satō 1958, Utagawa 1992, 1999).[16] As well as a highly significant religious event it also represented an important

[16] For an impassioned debate over the theory of ritual that has appropriated the Ainu *iyomante* as a critical point of contention, see Kimura's (1999) response to Ray (1991) as well as his position on Smith (1982:

social occasion. The event provided male elders the opportunity to demonstrate the extent of their wealth and, therefore, their claim to power through their generosity (van Gulik 1984: 71). Such ceremonies were organized to include the participation of Ainu from communities across the region and performed to show respect to the deities by the offering of gifts such as Japanese laquerware, swords and beads that had been obtained through trade and which connoted considerable economic *and* social capital (Ohnuki-Tierney 1999: 240-241).

Notwithstanding the social production and operation of the *iyomante* as a traditional event, the political and cultural significance of which was being forged in and through a series of relationships, its status as being quintessentially 'Ainu' and, therefore, representative of the group's primordialist isolation from the civilized world becomes unhinged once one considers its extroverted ethnographic detail. In contrast to the public image of the Ainu as a "closed" society, the *iyomante* represents the open and syncretic processes of Ainu ethnogenesis (Kimura 1999: 93n). In doing so, it refigures the imagined construction of the 'Ainu' (and by association the 'Wajin' and other trading partners) as self-contained ethnic groups, to instead view their "very existence" as Hudson puts it "through the social and economic processes of ... interaction" (Hudson 1999a: 75). An evident conclusion to be drawn from this perspective is that the cultural identities of Ainu have always been caught up in a process of becoming and thus cannot be considered rooted or static but as having always been "on-going mutable productions" (Massey 2004: 5) enmeshed within varying geographical, socio-political and economic networks of relations (local, regional, international) (Clifford 1994: 309-310). The theoretical and political challenge against pre-given identities that this perspective proffers underlines the need to challenge those relations of power through which essentialist definitions of Ainu identity have been established (cf. Massey 2004: 5); basically, an understanding of the role of history that I have hinted at above.

Furthermore, it is necessary to take into consideration the effect central government economic policies have had on Ainu life. For over one hundred and thirty years, it has been policymakers in Tokyo who have undermined and redefined the social

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53-65). For a wider study of the Bear Cult amongst circumpolar peoples see Janhunen (2003), Hallowell (1926); in terms of a comparison with the Olcha see Zolotarev (1937). For a brief synopsis see Manker (1972: 32-33).

organization of Ainu life. In this way, the conclusion drawn by Peng et. al. still holds merit that the present situation of Ainu is not ""aboriginal," but is the outcome of the interaction of internal and external socioeconomic factors over a long period of time" (1974: 748). In fact, one could argue that the negative affects on Ainu of land reform measures drawn up by Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP) in 1946 and implemented two years later without any special provisions for Ainu, significantly contributed to the migration of Ainu south during the next decade (see Siddle 1996: 150-151).

From this 'extroverted' perspective of history, it is easily recognized how 'place' is not intrinsic to human society but the product of social interrelations between people and between people and objects that energize and give meaning to a particular geographical location. Due to the relational dynamics of place construction, it is also a fact that a certain portion of those relations will "stretch" beyond the limits of that place (Massey 1994: 115). Recognition of the constitutive power these relations exhibit, promises to open up "a politics of place which does not deprive of meaning those lines of connections, relations and practices, that construct place [and] also go beyond it" (Massey 2004: 9). The relevance of this reasoning for the situation of Indigenous peoples in urban areas becomes increasingly evident once one recognizes its openness to the possible emergence of *other* places and trajectories of life elsewhere. In particular, acknowledgement of the fact that relations deriving from emergent places of tribal interaction in metropolitan areas, for example, would constitute one of those 'translocal lines' that contribute to the definition of places 'at home'. We must be careful however not to reduce the experience of connectedness with other places from urban areas to an objectified, cartographic metaphor of 'lines' or 'routes' that could all too easily overlook the significance of its "lived" dimensions. Anderson (1997) writing from the standpoint of a Tasmanian Aboriginal living on the mainland of Australia has anticipated this point by describing how affirmation of his own identity is embedded within networks of kinship energized by what he calls "*lived relationships* with extended family and community" (my italics; Anderson 1997: 5). Although Anderson restricts his use of 'lived relationships' to refer to personal and communal relations and connections – reliant, one would assume, upon technology both old (telephone, fax) and new (e-mail,

text messaging) – I suggest that it can be expanded to incorporate not only other forms of interpersonal communication but also the flow of objects such as foods, ceremonial materials, cultural goods and so on through which familial and traditional relationships continue to be lived and fundamental aspects of one's identity experienced.

Of course, with regard to the urban Ainu situation, a critical qualification of this position based loosely on the work of Basso (1996) is that in order for those relationships to be "lived" Tokyo must first become an "object of awareness" for Ainu; an identifiable space of social interaction. This is, I believe, the principle historical dynamic of urban Ainu history. To chart the social processes of self-organization *framed by disjunction* through which this 'awareness' comes about, provides us with the opportunity to historically determine the transformation of Tokyo from an incongruent *location* of Ainu identification in the 1960s to an articulated *site* of Ainu identity by the mid-1980s/early 1990s. Doing this not only reveals the analytical and historical significance of place-based Ainu sociality in the capital region but, from a more general viewpoint, also underlines the tropic relevance of *culture*, *identity* and *collectivity* in disclosing an historical narrative of the Kantō resident Ainu population.

STEP 2 – Between Fixity and Belonging: the Negotiation of Ainu Identity in Tokyo

Although Ainu self-organization in and around the capital offers a constructive index for analysis, before we can address such a topic there is an obvious need to first establish historical context and therefore an obligation to raise fundamental questions: How did migration differ from previous forms of Ainu mobility to Tokyo? When did an identifiable trend of Ainu migration towards the capital region first establish itself? What motivated relocation?

In place of a continuum, a qualitative distinction can be drawn between pre-war and post-war forms of Ainu mobility towards the mainland. By 'pre-war', or what we may call the 'Colonialist Era', I refer to the period between 1868 and the late 1930s and by 'post-war', or the 'Cosmopolitan Era', from 1945 to present. These two periods in time are differentiated by quite divergent dynamics of mobility (represented in figures 4.1 and 4.2) that while shaped in large part by structural aspects of historical change are nevertheless separated by a more profound transformation in ethnic subjectivity. I deal

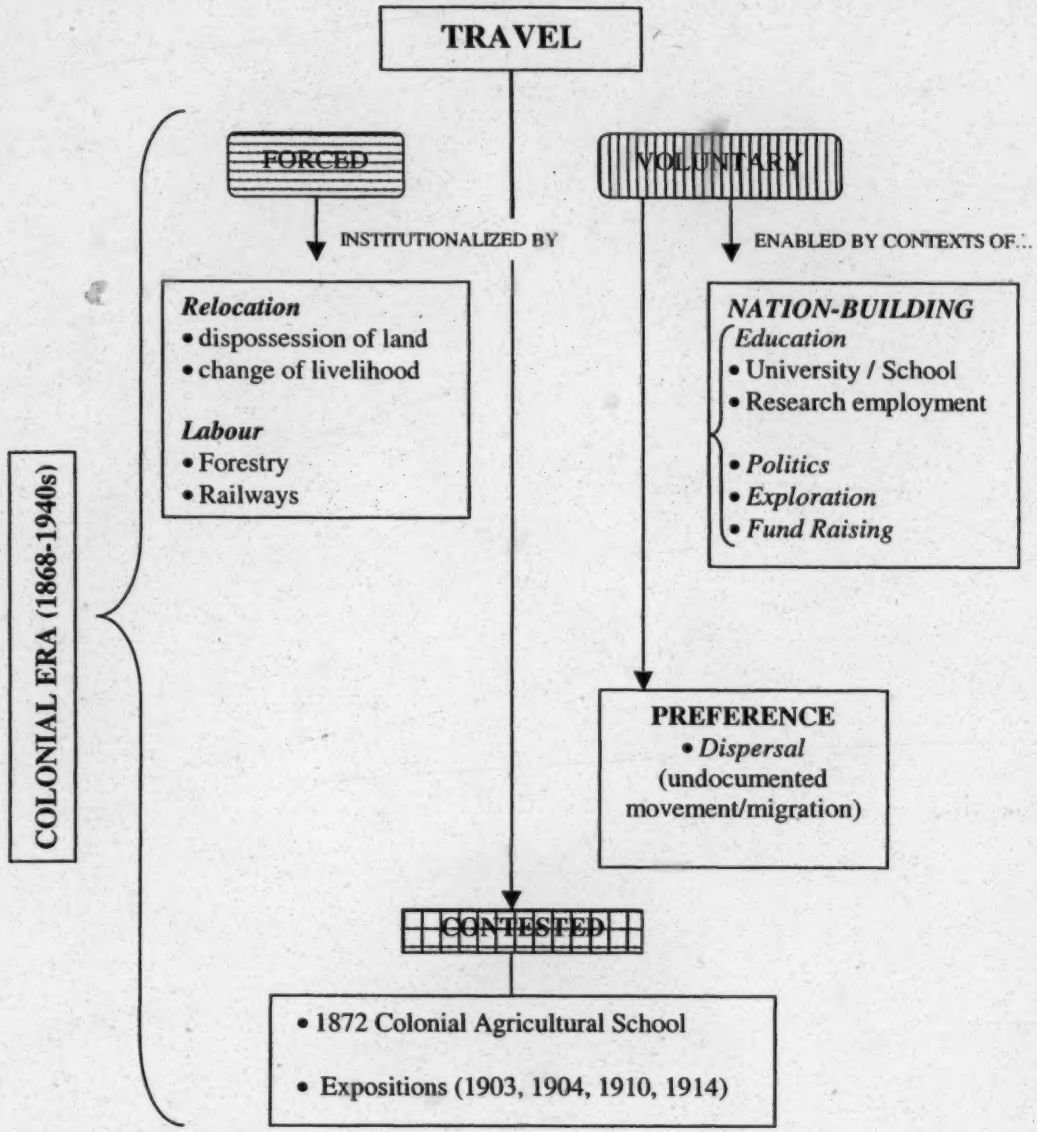

Figure 4.1: Flowchart representing pre-war dynamics of Ainu mobility to and residence in Tokyo

first with the history of Ainu in Tokyo during the 'Colonial Era' in order to better qualify the context of post-war history in the next chapter.

Colonial Era: 1868 – late 1930s

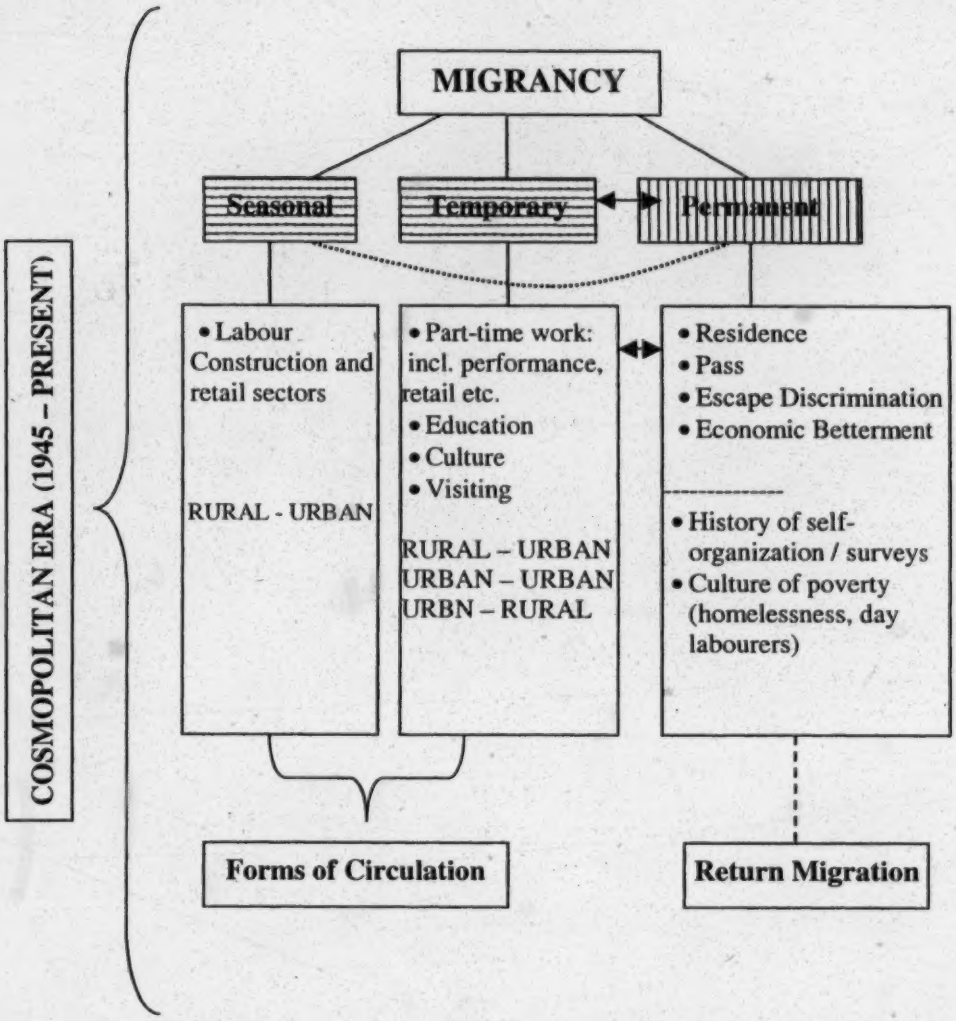

Figure 4.2: Flowchart representing post-war dynamics of Ainu mobility to and residence in Tokyo

The assumption that the presence or residence of Ainu in Tokyo is a relatively recent post-war event reflecting the intrusion of global economics into traditional localities is a blatant misconception. Ainu have been traveling down to and residing in Tokyo since at least the 1870s and most likely even before (although this point is difficult to ascertain as Tokugawa rule at that time officially prevented Ainu from making such journeys thereby casting doubt over the existence of any records). As represented by the flowchart in fig. 4.1, general Ainu mobility at this time was either directly enabled by varying contexts of

nation building and personal preference or indirectly institutionalized by government policy that often dictated the conditions under which journeys could be made and thus, at times, forcing Ainu to move. Within these various forms of movement that brought Ainu to different parts of Hokkaidō as well as to towns and villages across the mainland, travel to the capital was undertaken within varying contexts of national, academic and colonial politics that more often than not overtly positioned Ainu within racialized discourses of citizenship and social hierarchy. Education, for example, was an early policy adopted by the Meiji government and used as a vehicle for assimilation. In 1872, a colonial agricultural school was built in the grounds of Zōjōji Temple (now currently located beneath Tokyo Tower) to 'educate' thirty-four Hokkaidō Ainu with a view to instilling within them the values of agricultural production. Due to the impact of widespread illness (that took the lives of four Ainu) and truancy however, only five Ainu remained after one year and in 1874 the project was closed down altogether. Whether or not this school characterized an act of institutionalized violence meted out by the government by forcing Ainu to move to Tokyo is a contested point but nevertheless in recent years it has served as the main platform for the performance by Ainu of an annual *icharpa* (Ceremony for the Dead) on the believed-to-be site of the school (on this, see Chapter 7). In a similar vein, Ainu participation at national and international expositions in Osaka in 1903, St. Louis in 1904, London in 1910 and Ueno Park (Tokyo) in 1912 that brought Ainu down to and through Tokyo have raised a comparable level of historical conjecture.

Politics, university education and work also accounted for Ainu traveling to and living in the capital. For example, Ainu were in Tokyo in 1937 at the revision of the Hokkaidō Former Aborigines Protection Act. This in fact turned out to be a highly politicized event as during their stay they were brought to tour the Imperial Palace, Shinjuku Gyoen (Shinjuku Imperial Gardens) and the Ise and Meiji Shrines, a "pilgrimage" that served the wider purpose of symbolically assuring the Japanization of Ainu (Roth 2002: 31, Takagi 1993). With regard to university education, by the early 1930s, at least three Ainu had attended universities in the Tokyo region the most famous of whom, Chiri Mashiho (1909-1961), went on to become an important figure in the field of Ainu language. Chiri's older sister, Chiri Yukie (1903-1922), characterized a role that many Ainu were to follow by coming to Tokyo to work under the eminent Tokyo

Imperial University professor of Ainu linguistics, Kindaichi Kōsuke (1882-1971). The nineteen-year-old Chiri arrived in May 1922 after graduating from high school but due to a frail heart condition complicated by illness died at Kindaichi's house in Tokyo four months later shortly after finishing her book of Ainu yukar *Ainu Shinyōshū* (Collected Stories of the Ainu Gods) that was published the following year (Strong 2002: 153-154).

Without wishing to get sidetracked by historical detail, what primarily distinguishes this 'colonialist era' of Ainu mobility from that characterizing post-war 'cosmopolitanism' is a subtle but nevertheless distinctive shift in the structural *and* experiential contexts of movement from what I believe we can call that of 'travel' (fig. 4.1) to that of 'migrancy' (fig. 4.2). Unlike mobility in the pre-war era, by the early 1950s the movement of Ainu towards the capital became increasingly common and started to exhibit multiple characteristics, factors and rationale. It is in attempting to chart the social complexity and processes emergent at this time that we begin to redefine the contours of Ainu social geography.

CHAPTER FIVE

'Cosmopolitan' Post-War History: Identity, Community and the Politics of Home

By delineating the history of Ainu in the capital region between two eras, I do not mean to infer that this is a particularly easy or straightforward break to make based upon previous studies or readily available research statistics. On the contrary, one of the major challenges faced in attempting to address such history is the distinct lack of detailed information. In order to put together some semblance of an early historical record of Ainu mobility to, through and back from Tokyo in the post-war era, one must look first to the only prominent historical index of mobility that remains and one that occupies an important role in Tokyo Ainu life: memories.

Cosmopolitan Era: (Early) 1950(s)-1962

Whether spoken or written, memory (and by association forgetting) exists as a critical social agent in the on-going production of collective life through the stories that people tell and are told (Kenny 1999: 421). Its employment however is ultimately constrained and constructed by circumstances, culture and society, a complex process of filtration that directly influences the ways in which people recall and understand the past (Gross 2002: 342). I was to quickly learn the relevance of this point during the early stages of my fieldwork. For although I was starting to hear stories of Ainu working and visiting Tokyo and other cities and prefectures across the mainland during the early post-war era, there seemed to be no explicit record of this as 'history'. What existed were personal narratives (spoken and written) as well as fragments of wider conversations that reflected a distinct disjuncture between an understanding of memories as personal recollections and the articulation of memories as part of a collective history. As I will contend below, this schism makes a lot more sense when considered against the backdrop of events surrounding the establishment of the first Ainu based organization, the *Tokyo Utari Kai* in Tokyo in 1973. This represented what we may consider the starting point of "history"

for Ainu in the capital, when a small but growing number of Ainu started to publicly question what it meant being Ainu in Tokyo at that time. Prior to this however, a sense of Ainu belonging on the mainland did not exist, in a formalized sense anyway. Thus, we are only left with the option to chart the remembered traces of past Ainu movements.

What we are able to affirm with some confidence is that the most common reason for Ainu men to move to the mainland from the 1950s on was in search of employment as manual labour. At a Tokyo symposium in 1998, Chiri Mutsumi, an Ainu who lived in Tokyo and was greatly involved with the Ainu movement there for twenty-five years before moving back to her hometown in Hokkaidō to live in 1997, recounts how her father (b. 1907) had worked in Tokyo and factories in the city of Kawasaki to the south and west of the capital before finally returning to Hokkaidō; a labour route, she explains, that "a large number of Ainu from Hokkaidō probably experienced" (Chiri 1998: 78). The rise in migration of Ainu towards the capital region at this time was a direct reflection of the changes that were beginning to redefine the Japanese nation. From the mid-1950s on, a period of high economic growth (*kōdōkeizaiseicho*) was beginning to haul Japan out of its post-war malaise. Needless to say, the range of legal and political factors that had started to overturn the anti-urban ideology propagated by the government during wartime and the economic prosperity of the period helped to revive the commercial role of major urban centres and served to underpin the significant demographic shift of agricultural labourers and family groups from rural villages to the cities (White 1982: 18). In line with the general pattern of depopulation from the northern prefectures down towards the Kantō region and beyond to Kansai (Osaka, Kyoto) (see Otomo 1990, Tsuya & Kuroda 1989), increasing numbers of Ainu also started to appear amongst these migrants.

From what can be established from the available sources of personal testimony and statistical research however, the defining characteristics of Ainu mobility during the 1950s did not conform to any consistent model of economic migration. What I mean by this is that linear patterns of permanent relocation during this period are difficult to ascertain. This is due in part to the fact that labour mobility for many Ainu men had underpinned traditional forms of Ainu social organization, leading to the scenario where opportunities opening up in factories in and around Tokyo were adopted rather

seamlessly into traditional patterns of seasonal labour. To provide some historical context to this point, in pre-colonial Ainu society men had generally hunted from late Fall to early summer and moved down river to fish during the summer months (Ainu Minzoku Hakubutsukan 1994: 8-11). This way of life however was gradually undermined by the encroachment of Japanese from the south. After 1672, Ainu could not leave the island then known as *Ezochi* nor travel freely within the territory, as their opportunities to enter into contracts of employment were severely restricted under the feudal system of the time (Howell 1995: 44-45). Although these restrictions changed with the Meiji Restoration (1868) and the dismantlement of the feudal structure, the new freedom of physical and social mobility that legislative reform provided did little to undermine the discriminatory attitudes that shaped majority relations with Ainu. The unequal relations of power between Japanese managers and Ainu that characterized the workings of the *basho* system during the Tokugawa era were supplanted by legislative strategies of market economic reform and land development policy that resulted in the forced relocation of entire Ainu communities to less productive land and the exploitation of Ainu men as seasonal labourers (*dekasegi*) in the fishing and forestry industries.

The socio-economic consequences of this history affected the welfare of Ainu well into the twentieth century. By the 1960s, for example, it was estimated that approximately three out of ten Ainu were still employed as seasonal labourers (Peng et. al. 1974: 740). Of course, due to the lack of reliable statistics on such movement, a problem compounded by the transient nature of such work and the political legacy of Ainu issues, the *exact* number of Ainu who worked on the mainland regardless of whether they stayed or not is impossible to determine. However, it is important to point out that the dynamics of labour migration amongst Ainu underwent significant change towards the end of the 1950s as a greater number of Ainu stopped moving as individual labourers to instead migrate together as a collective within small worker groups (see Sugawara 1968: 40-48). Firstly, it must be noted that this shift was not particular to Ainu migration but reflected a wider trend across the post-war Japanese labour economy as an increasing number of middle school graduates (particularly from northern prefectures) started to move in large groups to the cities for reasons of security, solidarity and ease of movement. Secondly, and more importantly, it suggests that Ainu labour migration to the

mainland at this time was becoming better organized (albeit informally) and more widespread than it has been given credit for up until now. It also perhaps gives credence to the idea that a significant percentage of Ainu moved to the city in order to live and work with a relative or friend already there (Peng et. al. 1974: 744). The *Asahi Shinbun* journalist Sugawara Kōsuke provides evidence to support this point. In his 1968 book *Gendai no Ainu: Minzoku Idō no Roman* (The Modern Ainu: Drama of a People in Motion), Sugawara quotes a letter sent by 'H', an Ainu man working in a factory in Tokyo, back to friends in his *kotan* (village): "[Here in Tokyo] such fear of being Ainu that I've always had is getting less and less. Of course, I haven't forgotten I am Ainu. But, as life is so busy in Tokyo, I don't feel I need to be ashamed about it. So don't be afraid, get out of there and come down to Tokyo" (Sugawara 1968: 42).

Although a major motivation for many Ainu men, employment in factories was not the only draw to the mainland. It existed amongst a host of other reasons that defined emerging routes of Ainu mobility during the post-war era. These were to include marriage, part-time retail and service work (especially in the burgeoning entertainment districts of Akihabara, Shibuya and Shinjuku) and education.[1] I still heard and read stories that established further reasons. Interestingly, these weren't always from Ainu themselves. The first Friday of every month a lecture took place at the Ainu Cultural Exchange Center in Tokyo as part of a series of lectures called '*Kiroroan*', an Ainu word translated into Japanese as 'happy' or 'enjoy' (*ureshii*). The lecture series took the form of a one-hour presentation on Ainu culture by an Ainu invariably brought down from Hokkaidō to Tokyo for the occasion followed by questions from the assembled audience of perhaps thirty to forty (mainly) Japanese. In addition to questions however, several of the senior audience members would also eagerly share their memories. Three or four times, I heard stories dating from the 1940s and 1950s of 'their first experience of Ainu culture' that always stemmed from the obviously cherished memory of an Ainu group coming to perform at their elementary or junior high schools. Being Tokyo, however, those schools were located as far apart as Akita in the north to Kyūshū in the south which

[1] Of course, movement down to Tokyo also created new opportunities. The Ainu craftsman Toko Nupuri, for example, moved to Tokyo during the early 1960s to study under a famous woodwork artist that eventually enabled him soon after to open up his own stall in the Matsuya department store in Tokyo's Ginza district (Sugawara 1968: 184).

suggested to me that there had been a lot more to those visits than had been assumed. I eventually discovered that, indeed, the formation of Ainu cultural troupes had its own history and had in fact been the means through which many Ainu who later gained prominent roles in Ainu culture and politics first came to the mainland. Kayano Shigeru, for example, the Ainu parliamentarian mentioned previously describes in his autobiography the circumstances under which he came to participate in two tours during 1950 (Kayano 1994: 103-106). The first, organized by a Japanese entrepreneur, recruited him along with nine other Ainu (including his father) on a two month tour through schools in northern Honshū in order to "properly introduce Ainu culture" to mainlanders who according to the entrepreneur still believed "Ainu ... are solely engaged in hunting and unable to speak Japanese" (Kayano 1994: 103). Although the tour provided financial reward, Kayano and the other members of the group were to experience the fate of another group I came to hear about in Nagoya when the Japanese entrepreneur suddenly upped and left with all the profits. Building on this experience that only further enhanced an Ainu feeling of mistrust towards Japanese, Kayano successfully led his own seven person group for another two month trip later that same year in order to pay off debts incurred from the first tour.

Alongside stories of seasonal as well as temporary/permanent patterns of mobility to the mainland, a further category of 'visiting' also emerged. Visiting took many forms and was enhanced by the availability of increasingly cheaper and more accessible forms of transportation. This enabled many Ainu to meet with friends or family or attend events on the mainland. It also made Tokyo more accessible for business and political purposes. One further reason I heard about and which continues to this day was cultural performance. Amongst many examples, I was told of one particular Ainu group invited down to the National Theatre in Tokyo during the 1960s to perform an *iyomante*. This was not an entirely unusual event. Although the *iyomante* had been officially banned by law in 1872, Ainu were nevertheless invited to perform variations of the ceremony twice in Osaka (1891 and 1903) and twice in Tokyo (1894 and 1898) thereafter and have continued the ceremony in some form through to the modern day (Ōgawa 1997: 295-304).[2] This performance held particular significance however as during the ceremony a

[2] For a detailed discussion of Ainu bear festivals after the Second World War see Higashimura (2002).

female elder had to be removed from the stage in a state of seizure. It was not until the following day when visiting the zoo and coming upon a real bear that she was said to have regained her sense of self. Upon reflection, it was generally acknowledged by the group that the elder's seizures had been generated by a bear spirit. Despite the prevalent idea within Japan of Ainu culture as a post-traditional almost secular lifestyle, an animistic worldview continues to resonate within many Ainu lives. In Chapter 7, I pick up on the meaning and import of the psychical experiences of Ainu at ceremonies that I learned of during my fieldwork, especially in terms of how they inform an emerging social relationship between Ainu and the built as well as natural environment in the capital and what it means for thinking about the Kantō region as an Ainu world and, therefore, the implacement of Ainu within it as 'Kantō Ainu'.

The Historical Emergence of Ainu Identity and Self-Organization in Tokyo

Whereas memories define the life of Ainu in the early post-war era, from the early to mid-1960s on the configuration of Ainu history in the capital region changes (if ever so slightly) into a more cohesive and detailed narrative. Although to an external observer the marked increase in archival material around this time – available in the form of newsletters, surveys and (self-) published articles, penned for the most part by Ainu themselves – would probably provide ample evidence to explain this shift, it does not offer reason enough unless one recognizes the broader historical context in which the material is situated and thus an understanding of the role of self-organization in the capital and its relationship to Ainu identity formation.

By the mid-1960s the scale of Ainu migration had started to be taken notice of publicly (although I use this term advisedly). 1965, for example, marked the publication of the Hokkaidō government's socio-economic survey of the Hidaka region (the area with the densest concentration of Ainu) which became the first research report to reveal the extent of out-migration from local communities.[3] The survey, an upshot of social concern from local and government officials regarding the impoverished conditions of Ainu, finally "exposed the increasing tendency for younger Ainu … to move away from

[3] The results of this survey were to considerably influence Ainu policy reform and provided the political rationale for the passing of the *Hokkaidō Utari Fukushi Taisaku* (Hokkaidō Ainu Welfare Countermeasures) in the early 1970s.

the old 'native villages' to find work and, often more importantly, to lose their identity by 'passing' in majority society" (Siddle 1996: 154). The survey also went on to establish the fact that "[m]any [Ainu] left Hokkaidō altogether for the cities of the mainland, together with a number of middle-aged migrant workers destined for the day-labourer ghettos of Tokyo and Osaka" (Siddle 1996: 155). Although migration to the city at the time was considered a process of acculturation, patterns of long-term and permanent residency in the capital region nevertheless started to demarcate a new geographical space of Ainu life. As Chiri Mutsumi (1998: 78) points out, as one person moved, got married, had children and settled in the region, the population in Kantō gradually developed and naturally expanded. Of course in a very generalized way, this process underscored a new historical dynamic to Ainu society, similar in form to what Fienup-Riordan (2000: 151-168) describes in terms of Yup'ik life in Anchorage as the "extension" of Yup'ik society, but in doing so it also highlighted something else and something that for many Ainu became ever more important: namely, the question of belonging and 'home'.

For many Ainu who had suffered discrimination and racism in Hokkaidō or who merely sought a new way of life, Tokyo reconfigured the sense and experience of 'home'. Disconnected from the racial politics of local Hokkaidō history and the prejudice it generated, the capital represented a welcome space of anonymity in which many found solace in being able to pass as Wajin. Unlike Hokkaidō, Tokyo did not define self-identity instead it contributed to an experience lived in and through the negotiated understanding over time of personal identity as a self-qualifying process connoting 'belonging' rather than an ascribed category denoting 'fixity'. The cosmopolitan, multi-regional and international make-up of Tokyo promoted a sense of multiplicity and difference not experienced anywhere else in Japan at that time. Indeed, for newcomers from rural districts or outlying prefectures, it represented an environment and way of life characteristic of a 'foreign city' (Miyasato 1994: 46-47). It is precisely because of this experience that any neat formulation of Ainu identity in Tokyo is particularly difficult to determine. It raises important questions therefore about definitions of the term 'Ainu' and to whom it refers when used as a marker of identity.

When discussing urban Ainu identity and its concomitant experience, the role of "disjunction" – the social break with home communities however temporary – is of particular relevance in two ways. First of all, in terms of cosmopolitanism noted above, it relates to the complexities of migration and the range of motivations – from work to marriage to education – that intersect a migrant's identity. Thus, whilst it is convenient to talk of 'Ainu' as moving down to the capital, the lack of identifiable Ainu enclaves (see fig 5.3) or a similar marker of ethnic community in the region would suggest that instead of 'Ainu' it is more precise to talk of manual labourers, waitresses, students, wives and husbands and so on as moving down. By privileging other identities over that of Ainu is not to belittle the ethnic significance of Ainu. Instead it underlines a broader requirement to remain aware of the range of inter-group and intra-group differences that intersect ethnic identity and their relation to the personal biographies of migration. In doing this, issues of class, gender, age, occupation are not overlooked but acknowledged as important components of a dynamic ethnic identity and, at the same time, of a modern 'diasporic community' (Anthias 1998).

The second notion of "disjunction" however is more objective. It relates to the experience of migration and how that is framed by official definitions of identity within government policy. For Ainu, this refers to the fact that upon leaving Hokkaidō for the mainland they became ineligible for assistance from the Hokkaidō Former Natives Protection Act (1899-1997) while it was still law and any provisions under the continuing Hokkaidō Utari Welfare Act (1974 –). Now, to put the details of these particular policies to one side for the moment, it is the more general idea of exclusion from government thinking that I want to pick up on here. The rationale behind the 'localization' or 'regionalization' of Ainu affairs has been as much, if not more, ideological than bureaucratic. The historical precedent can be traced back to the Hokkaidō Former Natives Protection Act in 1899. A year after the passing of the law, a concerted effort was made by the then Home Ministry to provide a legal definition of Ainu ethnicity for determining who was eligible for support. Due in large part to the understanding of Meiji government officials at the time that the signifier 'Ainu' was inextricably linked to problems posed by traditional Ainu communities with regard the colonial development of land and access to natural resources, the definition of Ainu fell back upon vague notions

of physical difference and communal habitation: thus, "Ainu" were considered "persons of one-fourth Ainu ancestry" and only eligible for support "if they were physically recognizable as Ainu" (Howell [David L.] 2004: 12). David Howell (2004: 13) argues that such a definition demonstrates that the law itself had little to do with assimilation per se, in the sense of wishing to help Ainu become fully Japanese, than with trying to erase "spheres of Ainu social life that were autonomous from the modern state". In this way of thinking, if no identifiable 'Ainu' communities were to exist then Ainu would no longer exist. This approach had obvious implications for Ainu life, as Howell writes:

"Decisions that individual Ainu made about how to lead their lives thus had a profound impact on the political meaning of Ainu ethnicity. Young people who left home to work in Sapporo or some other major urban centre did not necessarily do so in an attempt to escape from their identity as Ainu. From the standpoint of the state and private reformers, however, once they left, they ceased functionally to be Ainu and were therefore no longer a concern for policymakers. This left the state free to concentrate its effort to resolve the "Ainu problem" on a diminished community of rural – and mostly very old or very young – Ainu."

(Howell 2004: 13)

Although Howell's analysis is taken from events happening at the turn of the twentieth century, it may be surprising to learn that notwithstanding obvious changes in Ainu policy and welfare since that time, the fundamental "regionalization" (*chiiki-ka*) of Ainu issues to (rural) Hokkaidō has continued unabated (Uemura 2004) as well as the dominant assumption that by leaving traditional communities for (mainland) urban centres, Ainu are no longer Ainu. It is important to underline once again that for a large number of Ainu it is exactly this disjunction between space and social identity that made the mainland an attractive destination. At the same time, however, for others, it has been the spatial and social separation from family and communities in Hokkaidō that has formed the basis for renewed interest and understanding of their Ainu identity and heritage that may not have been particularly clear before. For those who not only continued to identify themselves at some level as Ainu but also for a number who had

either discovered or sought to rediscover a sense of Ainu-ness in their lives, the dynamics of migrancy became articulated in three major ways:

1) prompting questions of identity – of what it meant to be Ainu in Tokyo – (thereby rethinking received ideas of Ainu peoplehood);
2) developing an awareness of culture disconnected from the essentialist politics of place;
3) an understanding of the construction of Ainu collectivity through consociation (rather than primordial links with an 'Ainu community').

Furthermore, through the making of Tokyo as a site of permanent residence, the dynamics of migrancy also became the context within which the stretching of traditional relationships across a new social space incorporating Kantō and Hokkaidō became grounded and implicated within a diasporic social logic.

One important arena in which these dynamics came to be articulated was self-organization. In effect, to document the history and issues attached to the development of self-organization in the capital region is to chart the rise of Ainu identity and the articulation of a collective history. Although I knew of and, indeed, regularly witnessed the inherent connection between self-organization and identity during my time in Tokyo, it was not until reading the particular experience of an Ainu woman in early 1960s Tokyo that the significance of its foundation was brought to my attention.

1963-1979: Demarcating Tokyo as a 'Location of Ainu Identification'

In a personal account written for a thirty year retrospective of the *Peure Utari Kai* (Young Utari Society – see below), Arai Michiko describes how she turned away from her Ainu background as a young woman, hating everything to do with 'Ainu': the traditional patterns, the language. Sharing the view of many Ainu women at the time, she assumed that marriage would allow her to become Wajin.[4] When she arrived in Tokyo

[4] On this point, Ukaji Shizue, an Ainu elder in the Tokyo region notes: "We women don't want our children to go through what we did. ... [Ainu] [w]omen marry Japanese in order to give their children a better life. It's not like we sat down and planned it that way – that's just the way it happened. Ainu women leave Hokkaido to start a new life somewhere where they'll be accepted" (Stocklassa 1991: 30).

however, such attitudes changed. She found herself struggling to accept who she was and whether she was "really Japanese" (*hontō no Nihonjin*). Upon meeting students from all over the country who exhibited pride about who they were and where they were from, Arai found herself dwelling on what it was that troubled her about being Ainu (*Ainu toshite nayande iru koto wa nan na no ka*). This crisis of identity that accompanied her urban life deepened her wish for a place where she could meet other Ainu and express her feelings. Along with two friends from Hokkaidō she decided to act and formed the *Ainu Mondai Kenkyūkai* (Society for the Study of Ainu Issues) early in the summer of 1963, the first meeting of which was held on May 23rd at a Social Welfare Hall in Tokyo (Sugawara 1968: 187). This was to be the first such organization in Tokyo. However, it failed to meet Arai's expectations. Although a reported thirty-three people attended, the meeting was an unsatisfactory experience for her based on the fact that they had all been Wajin (of varying "curious" and "radical" motivations [Siddle 1996: 162]) and "not even one Ainu was amongst the participants" (*Ainu utari sankasha wa hitori mo inakatta*) (Peure Utari no Kai Henshūiinkai 1998: 53). It left Arai despising 'Ainu' once again, to the extent that she lost the will to continue (Peure Utari no Kai Henshūiinkai 1998: 53). In fact, despite the initial enthusiasm, the meeting did not seem to cultivate much long term interest at all as only three editions of the newsletter were ever published. Whilst Arai returned to Hokkaidō that summer to work, the *kenkyūkai* disbanded (Peure Utari no Kai Henshūiinkai 1998: 53).

Despite its brevity and lack of appeal for Arai and perhaps other Ainu like her, the *kenkyūkai* nevertheless represented an important initial stage in the social organization of Ainu in Tokyo. Sugawara (1968: 186-187) provides an interesting context to its establishment, describing its formation in terms of a much wider history of localized organization amongst young Ainu across Hokkaidō at the time. He explains how Arai (then Kaizawa) along with her two friends formed the *kenkyūkai* with the co-operation of various associations and individuals. Of particular note is how the group initially got going by holding a social exchange with the Ainu artist Toko Nupuri (who was resident in Tokyo at the time [see footnote 18]). This is significant as it provides the first real evidence of an informal network of support amongst Ainu already in operation in Tokyo

by the early 1960s. At the same time however, its extent should not be overstated. The lack of Ainu presence at the actual meeting clearly indicated its limits.

The story of Arai and the *Ainu Mondai Kenkyūkai* implies how young people were beginning to think of themselves not only as students or migrants from Hokkaidō but also as Ainu. Obviously, what 'being Ainu' in Tokyo meant at that time was not entirely clear although it seemed to invoke an idea of a background and particular experience that others shared. Despite the lack of a definition, the signifier of 'Ainu' had a perceivable social effect in as much as it meant that young people were starting to locate themselves in a different way to the relations of modernity and the notion of Time – as a linear path of development and progress – that informed it. By beginning to think about what it was to be Ainu in Tokyo, the division between space and the social and the authoritative narrative of assimilation and homogeneity that history foretold started to collapse. Ainu were neither fixed nor constrained to Hokkaidō despite the pressures from society to conform. Space obviously had a very important role to play in the construction of subject identity and biography (Usher 2002: 41-42).

This initial attempt at self-organization also highlights an evident need to move away from a dehistoricized or essentialist notion of 'Ainu' identity. For Arai, being Ainu was not a straightforward, natural proposition. The difficulties she was attempting to reconcile in her search for meaning underline the now common assertion of identity as a wholly historical and cultural experience (not a biological or genetic given) (Hall 1992). Furthermore, it was in the way she sought to develop social relations with other people like herself that frame the workings of identity – as an ongoing product of social interrelations – in process (Toyota 2003). This social and place-based dynamic of Ainu self-organization and identity formation in the capital was to eventually instill itself ten years later as a small number of Ainu started to formulize ways of addressing the situations and problems of Ainu in and around the capital.

During the 1960s, the Ainu population – taken to mean individuals with Ainu heritage or ancestry – in the Kantō area grew exponentially. The journey from local villages to the Hokkaidō ports of Hakodate or Tomakomai and then by boat across the Tsugaru Strait, known locally as the 'Salty River' (*shoppai kawa*), to Aomori-ken and then by train over 900 kilometers down to Ueno station in Tokyo became an increasingly

popular route. By 1964, the year of the Tokyo Olympics, a fragile social geography of "Ainu life" in the capital had started to develop. At *Ezo Goten* a high-end drinking and cabaret bar in the entertainment district of Katobuki-cho, Shinjuku many young Ainu women (and men) used to either work or congregate there finding comfort associating with other Ainu (Peure Utari no Kai Henshūiinkai 1998: 13). According to Satō Tatsue an elder who had worked at the bar, twenty to thirty young *menoko* were there during the winter time and between ten and twenty at a branch in Nagoya (Rera no Kai 1997: 74). For Ainu women, work in the so-called *mizu shōbai* or "water trade" offered a lucrative and flexible form of employment although rent in surrounding areas were often high and could account for a large proportion of a salary (Tokyo-to Kikaku Chōseikyoku Chōsabu 1975: 11).

A discernable social geography of Ainu life extending beyond the confines of Shinjuku however is difficult to make and reflects the wider political fragility of Ainu self-consciousness at that time. Upon arrival, many individuals went there own way in the capital and either had no intention of meeting up with other Ainu or it never occurred to them that their Ainu identity could serve as the basis for socialization. In a series of interviews with Ainu in the capital during the late 1980s by the freelance journalist Ogasawara Nobuyuki (1990), it is evident that a notion of ethnic solidarity or any particular knowledge of other Ainu in the capital upon arrival, outside of one's immediate family and possibly friends, was absent. Indeed, alongside those running away from experiences of discrimination in Hokkaidō, for some respondents the very idea of one's self as 'Ainu' had not been one they had had until they moved to Tokyo (for example, Ogasawara 1990: 113). In place of any perceivable social network however knowledge of the increasing number of Ainu in the Kantō region came by seeing faces on the street. Kanba Hidekazu, one of many men who ended up living and working out of the tough, day labouring ghetto of San'ya and other districts like Kotobuki in Yokohama (see Fowler 1996, Stevens 1997: 81),[5] describes how it wouldn't take long to walk around the area without recognizing other Ainu (Ogasawara 1990: 63). In the course of his interview, he mentions his knowledge of seven Ainu in three different workers' districts

[5] A stark representation of life on the streets of Sanya from an Ainu perspective is given by Hashine Naohiko (1973, 1974) in two books he wrote in prison whilst serving a sentence for the murder of another labourer in Tokyo in the early 1970s.

across the capital, all of whom originated from different parts of Hokkaidō. Such recognition however would not necessarily initiate conversation or friendship. As Ukaji Shizue, an Ainu elder from Urakawa, describes: "We see one another on the streets of a big city. We recognize each other but don't let on. A glance, that's all – no greeting. That's just how oppressed we've been" (Stocklassa 1991: 30; also see Ukaji 1998: 64).

In light of this situation, it is obvious that the formation of an Ainu community in the capital region was never to be a natural proposition. Upon recognizing this, it was in fact Ukaji who decided to act. On February 8th 1972, along with another young Ainu woman Urakawa Mitoko, Ukaji put an advertisement in the *Asahi Shinbun* entitled '*Utaritachi Yo, Te o Tsunagō*' (All Utari! Join Hands Now!). The article issued a call for all Ainu in the capital to 'join hands' and come together to work towards an acknowledgement of their rights and situation. The two women received an overwhelming response to their call although the reaction was mixed. As a reflection of the radical politics that dominated Ainu issues at the time, a left-wing terrorist network contacted Ukaji and the leader came to meet with her (Peure Utari no Kai Henshūiinkai 1998: 13, Stocklassa 1991: 30).[6] Otherwise, the majority of those who showed up at the first meeting were Wajin. According to Ukaji, Ainu respondents had either contacted and then met with the leaders in private or were critical of their article. Many Ainu resented the fact that the two women were drawing attention to an issue that they had sought to escape from by leaving Hokkaidō for Tokyo in the first place. Faced with such a delicate situation it was not until the following year (1973) that the *Tokyo Utari Kai* (Tokyo Utari Association) was established (Ogasawara 1990: 153).[7] By this time, two further Ainu women Sato Tatsue (mentioned above) and Ikabe Riseko had joined to help promote the campaign. An apartment was rented in Nakano ward in western metropolitan Tokyo and it is said that close to one hundred people, mainly Ainu, attended that first meeting at which there was "a heightened sense of enthusiasm" (Tanba 1997: 10).

The first point of discussion that arose from the meeting was the need for a *seikatsukan* or community centre in Tokyo. In Hokkaidō, a *seikatsukan* is a place where

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[6] Although I never heard him mentioned by name, we can assume it to be Ōta Ryū, the radical revolutionary who regarded the Ainu movement as the basis for an armed struggle towards an independent state (Kinase 2002: 176-177, Siddle 1996: 172).

[7] Several authors cite 1972 as the date of the association's establishment, however there would seem to have been a delay between the publication of the article and the association's formation.

Ainu can meet, socialize, receive career guidance and personal counseling and practice cultural activities.[8] Its value in Tokyo would be to enable Ainu to receive advice regarding employment and housing as well as provide a safe and comfortable environment in which to associate with others and, in the process, galvanize a sense of a support network and eventually collective solidarity. The difficulties faced in providing such a permanent space in Tokyo however in terms of rent, service provision and so on were monumental. After all, who was going to make it happen? Many Ainu would come to Tokyo solely in search for employment. Often without much formal education, they would quickly fall into manual labour jobs. In the absence of any viable social network upon which to rely, especially in the early days of one's time in the capital, some would encounter terrible difficulties, sleep rough and perish on the streets (Aoki 2001: 60, Ogasawara 1990: 65). In January 1973, Ukaji had already participated in the *Zenkoku Ainu no o Kataru Kai* (National Ainu Discussion Meeting) held in Sapporo in order to raise awareness of the issues Ainu faced in Tokyo. In July of the same year with the aid of Communist party representatives, she petitioned the Tokyo governor Minobe Ryōkichi for funding to conduct a survey of the socio-economic conditions of Ainu in the capital (Ukaji 1998: 64).[9] At a session of the Metropolitan Tokyo Assembly held in February 1974 the funding was granted (Anutari Ainu 1975: 4).

The survey, officially entitled *Tokyo Zaijyū Utari Jittai Chōsa* (Survey of the Socio-economic Conditions of Ainu Resident in Tokyo), was conducted between September 9th 1974 and February 10th 1975 and the results were published the following July. The objective of the survey was initially three-fold: first, to establish the size of the population in the capital region; second, to quantify and elucidate the problems Ainu faced there, drawing particular attention to employment, income, housing, discrimination (with a particular emphasis on marriage), education and culture; and finally, to use the findings as the basis for a campaign for acquiring special financial provisions from the Tokyo government in order to construct a *seikatsukan*.

To summarize the findings from the report's publication, the survey had identified 401 households and a total of 679 Ainu (367 men, 312 women) resident in Metropolitan

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[8] Today there are approximately two hundred and thirty *seikatsukan* in Hokkaidō.

[9] This move perhaps benefited from Minobe's electoral platform as a Marxist economist and political reformer that brought about significant changes in policies of pollution control and social welfare.

Tokyo.[10] Out of this number only forty-two had arrived in Tokyo prior to 1955, a statistic that underlined the influence of the period of high economic growth on Ainu migration. Single households accounted for 60.3% of the population that was significantly higher than the Tokyo average at the time of 23.3%. The authors of the report draw attention to the fact that discrimination regarding marriage could be one factor attributed to this figure. However, another contributing factor was probably the age of the population as 44.8% were found to be between the ages of 16 and 30. Regarding employment, the majority of men were blue-collar workers employed in construction and the majority of women bar hostesses or waitresses in the entertainment trade or cleaners and kitchen staff. This level of employment had a direct effect on average earnings. For an Ainu household, the average monthly income was ¥125,660 (lowering to ¥97,470 per individual) that in comparison with the metropolitan average of ¥209,000 indicated a negative differential of approximately 45% (to 64%). This statistic contributed to palpable evidence of Ainu entrenched within an informal market of labour. 72.4% of respondents stated that they relied upon personal connections for employment, compared with only 26.5% amongst Tokyo residents. This factor remains one major reason why it is considered difficult for public offices to hold reliable information on migrant workers (Kitahara 1993: 25). A crucial statistic with regard to the wider agenda of the association however concerned culture, 96.5% responded that they wanted to know about Ainu culture with 93% stating the need for some kind of place to meet and practice.

The overall approach of the survey was particularly interesting as no definition of 'Ainu' (or 'Utari') was provided at any point in the report. In fact, on page twenty-seven, the authors categorically state that they were unwilling to meddle in such complex issues. Whilst, on the one hand, critics (especially Japanese conservatives suspicious of the idea of Ainu in general) may be too quick to point out how this undermines the survey's authority, on the other hand, it is important to remain mindful of both the social and political context in which this survey was undertaken and the restrictions this placed on its methodology. Respondents were highly unlikely to volunteer their identity to a

[10] The definition of 'Tokyo' employed by the survey included the twenty-three wards of the metropolitan core and the Tama District to the west.

Figure 5.1: A 1988 map presented by an Ainu delegation at the Sixth United Nations' Working Group on Indigenous Populations. It represents the demographics of the Ainu population featuring the Tokyo figure of 679 taken from the 1975 survey. Despite the fact new statistics on the Kantō population were made available in December 1988, in all subsequent UN submissions no map would again represent Ainu demographics from a "national" perspective.

stranger. Keeping in character with the founding rationale of the Association to 'Join Hands' therefore the main method for data collection was through word of mouth. From this perspective, where the figure of 679 may seem small it in fact indicates a rather wide, if fragmented, informal network of social and familial relations stretching across the

capital. "By meeting one Ainu," Ukaji states, "you meet ten Ainu" (Ogasawara 1990: 157).[1]

Although no official definition was forthcoming in the report, it is important to remain mindful of the fact that it did provide classification of Ainu in the capital for the very first time. In its title, after all, Ainu are not defined as 'Tokyo Ainu' but as 'Tokyo resident Ainu' (*Tokyo zaijyū Utari*). The implication of this is very important. What this infers is a distinction between Tokyo as a naturalized site or *region* of Ainu identity – for example, Hidaka Ainu, Ishikari Ainu and so on as noted in the map of Hokkaidō in fig. 5.1 – and as an emergent location of Ainu identification. Of course, as the history of urban Ainu migration and the results of the survey had made quite clear, for those who identified themselves as Ainu in Tokyo it was untenable to conceive of a primordial linkage existent between Ainu culture and identity. In the first instance, respondents knew very little about traditional culture, lived and worked with non-Ainu everyday, almost three-quarters stated that they were married to non-Ainu and, perhaps most tellingly, over 80% stated their wish to continue living in Tokyo. The absence of a collective solidarity amongst Ainu only reinforced the "embedded" (by which I mean the concealed, obscured, suppressed, covered) nature of respondents' identity within personal networks of consociation, a point of reference that the methodology of the survey had underlined. I shall return to the matter of identity shortly.

Following the survey that outlined the range of social problems that Ainu faced in moving to Tokyo, a petition was forwarded to the Tokyo government for a place from which to better study the social conditions of Ainu in Tokyo. Although no financing was provided for the hoped for *seikatsukan*, in what we can interpret to be an unprecedented move, the petition was acted upon by the Metropolitan government and the Tokyo Utari Association was given permission to post an Ainu counselor (*Utari Sōdansha*) to the Metropolitan Employment Security Office in Shinjuku (Ukaji 1998: 65).[2] This is a post that continues today.[3]

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[1] In the interview with Ogasawara, Ukaji-san goes by her maiden name of Urakawa.
[2] The first counselor, Ukaji-san, was succeeded by Hata Tomoko.
[3] Although for reasons I was unable to clarify during my time in the field I rarely heard the position of the Ainu counselor discussed or particularly acknowledged as a definable achievement. On several occasions, I tried to initiate a way of getting introduced to the current counselor but these attempts failed.

Another sign of the number of Ainu coming down to and residing in Tokyo at around the time of 1975 survey was the relocation of the *Peure Utari Kai* (Young Utari Society) from a village in eastern Hokkaidō to Tokyo. The Young Utari Society had originally been founded in the Ainu tourist village of Akan in the summer of 1964 (Aoki 2001: 59).[4] It brought together Japanese students from the mainland and young Ainu in investigating the conditions of Ainu communities throughout Hokkaidō and had become an important vehicle for the promotion of awareness and dialogue about Ainu issues. The society had published a newsletter out of Tokyo since the late 1960s but temporarily stopped its activities for approximately six years before starting up again in Tokyo in 1975 (Peure Utari no Kai Henshūiinkai 1998: 20-21). The focus of the society's activities was to broaden from Wajin-Ainu group meetings to a more action oriented agenda during the eighties and nineties. This included, for example, helping Ainu who had fallen on hard times in the capital or providing day labourers with bikes and judicial advice where necessary. The integration of Wajin into the Young Utari Society was to epitomize the increasing social and political significance of trans-ethnic alliances for Ainu and symbolize the negotiation of identity between Wajin and Ainu within many individuals' lives.

In 1977, an *icharpa* – an Ainu ceremony for the dead – was organized by the Tokyo Utari Association and became the last recorded event of the group. It is reported that numbers quickly declined and the apartment in Nakano soon fell into arrears (Tanba 1997: 11). The demise of the Association however did not undermine Ainu activism in Tokyo but earmarked the beginning of a new era of Ainu activities in the capital. In the following year (1978), the *Ainu Kaihō Kenkyūkai* (Ainu Liberation Study Group) was founded and the newsletter *Ainu Tsūshin* published with help from Sakai Mamoru an Ainu day labourer and labour activist from the Tokachi district in Hokkaidō (Siddle 1996: 172). This group was to come shortly after a number of Ainu came together to help and support the Ainu Narita Tokuhei's unsuccessful candidacy in the Upper House elections in Tokyo in July 1977.

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[4] On the unique history of Akan see Cheung (2005), Irimoto (2004).

1980 – present: Tokyo as an Articulated Site of Ainu Identity

By the end of the 1970s, the work of the Tokyo Utari Association and subsequent organizations had drawn attention to the situation of Ainu in the region. However, Tokyo was still only being considered as a space of residence for Ainu *from* Hokkaidō. The idea of a 'Tokyo' or 'Kantō Ainu' identity had not taken root. This was to gradually change however during the following two decades.

The emergence of an Ainu-based organization after the collapse of the Tokyo Utari Association came in July 1980 when the *Kantō Utari Kai* (Kantō Ainu Association) was formed at a meeting of Ainu at the Shinjuku Labour Welfare Hall.[5] Initially headed by Iwasaki Shōichi, the very name of the group reflected an awareness that, with the increase in production in the industrial sector, many Ainu never actually came to Tokyo itself but instead were finding employment as seasonal and permanent labourers in the factories of Chiba and Saitama prefectures (see Kitahara 2002). The founding rationale of the group had dual aspirations: first, a social obligation "to share and resolve daily problems" and second, an emphasis on tradition and the need "to learn and hand down Ainu culture". The former initiative built on the legacy of the Tokyo Utari Association by continuing to file petitions to the Tokyo Governor for a *seikatsukan* as well as expanding the political agenda.[6] In November 1981, for example, the association petitioned Hokkaidō Diet members to change the outdated Hokkaidō Former Natives Protection Act in order to ensure protection for non-Hokkaidō Ainu residents. Until that time what benefits Ainu were able to derive from the Act were solely restricted to those resident in Hokkaidō. However, from the early 1970s on, the resurgence in authority of the Hokkaidō Utari Association ensured that any campaign for the equalization of rights amongst Ainu was to also be against the largest Ainu association as well as government members. The implementation of the *Hokkaidō Utari Fukushi Taisaku* (Hokkaidō Utari Welfare Countermeasures) in 1974, for example, that provided Ainu with opportunities such as educational scholarships and low-interest mortgages was largely administered through the Hokkaidō Utari Association (Siddle 1996: 169). The exclusion of non-Hokkaidō Ainu from the welfare act (as well as from membership of the Hokkaidō Utari

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[5] For a twenty year overview of the *Kantō Utari Kai* see Koda 2001.
[6] The first petition was filed in September 1981.

Association) only served to highlight misgivings on the part of many Ainu as to the Utari Association's operation as a co-opted government organization. In May 1983, however, a first (and what some would regard as a solitary) step towards progress over this issue was taken when the Kantō Utari Association was invited to observe the Utari Association's annual assembly. This invitation has yet to be repeated.

Although political momentum at this time was slowly starting to demarcate and act upon the range of issues that affected the lives of Ainu in the capital, it belied a social context of intra-group friction amongst Ainu within the Kantō region. This was to become evident in 1983 when a group broke away from the Kantō Utari Association to form their own group, the *Ainu Minzoku no Ima o Kangaeru Rera no Kai* (shortened in the early 1990s to *Rera no Kai* or the 'Ainu Association of Wind'). The cause of this tumultuous break in social relations was reaction to the sudden death of the Ainu political activist Yūki Shōji that same year. Chiri Mutsumi (1998: 81-82) describes how a meeting held over the desire on the part of some to hold a wake in the capital for him caused distinct consternation. To what extent these anxieties were politically motivated – in other words, to what extent one supported or opposed Yūki's activities – is unclear but nevertheless a division appeared and one, that Chiri notes, was defined along regional lines. It was mostly those from the Kushiro region in eastern Hokkaidō, Yūki's birthplace, who made up the new group. This kind of factionalism based along regional lines was to define the emergence of new groups from then on. Although such divisions also came to be conflated with personal and political views, the very notion of regionalism underpinning the formation of Ainu self-organization and with it Ainu identity in Tokyo, was most significant. First of all, it demonstrated that politicized ideas of an 'Ainu nation' or 'Ainu people' had not replaced the historical identification of Ainu with a particular hometown or region. The re-emergence in Tokyo of localized Ainu identities denoted the social and cultural relevance that this structure had maintained throughout Ainu history, even surviving the pressures of assimilation. Secondly, it was obvious that the more generalized notion of Ainu identity was intersected by friendships and alliances with people from the same area in Hokkaidō. Ainu identity was not fixed through time but highly localized and its experience dependent upon regional differences

and a range of other factors (Ohnuki-Tierney 1976). Finally, this has held particular implications for how the notion of an 'Ainu community' in Tokyo could be regarded.

The idea of an Ainu community in Tokyo has never been a natural proposition. Due to the fact that the emergence of Ainu sociality or communality in the region has been based on shared interests and issues and reliant upon self-organization, it is more appropriate I believe to talk of Ainu collectivity than Ainu community. At one level, this highlights the differentiated experiences of Ainu and foregrounds the need to move away from ideas of an "authentic" Ainu identity based on the imagined concept of a bounded ethnic group and recognize the plurality of contemporary identities. Furthermore, it underlines the central role self-organization plays in the capital and the particular processes of consociation – e.g. ties between family and friends – associated with it that accommodate the differences between people without dismissing the possibility of ethnic alliance. One last point, is that more than community, a focus on collectivity draws greater attention to the construction of identity in diasporic situations and thus the central role of social interrelations in the formation of places. In the next three chapters I pick up on the dynamics of such places – culture center, the Kantō region, restaurant – in Tokyo and the effect they have had on shaping and changing the direction of Ainu identity there.

To return to the formation of the new group in 1983, it is only with hindsight that we can now recognize that divergence as an important moment for the Ainu movement not only in the capital area but all over Japan. During the late 1980s the group of mainly women held meetings to which they would bring traditional Ainu foods. Inspired by the making and sharing of these foods, the idea of an Ainu restaurant as both business and meeting place gradually became a focal point of discussion and eventually a reality after a successful national campaign raised enough funds for the restaurant to open in 1994 in conjunction with the United Nations' Decade of Indigenous Peoples (see Rera no Kai 1997). The *Rera Cise*, or 'House of Wind' as it is called, was first situated in a rented basement property opposite Waseda University but relocated in 2000 to its own premises and present location in Nakano ward, western metropolitan Tokyo. It has become a significant place for Ainu culture and identity. Due to the wide-ranging importance of the restaurant's history and social role as an 'Ainu place', I shall deal with the activities of the Ainu Association of Wind and the *Rera Cise* in more detail in Chapter 8.

Although the events of 1983 had caused deep rifts in people's memory, it did not entirely negate the possibility of inter-group co-operation. For example, in September 1986, it was an alliance of Kantō-based Ainu groups who first protested against Prime Minister Nakasone's comments regarding Japan as a homogenous nation. The fact that the Utari Association failed to move quickly on such a critical matter only enhanced a deep-seated uncertainty as to its political agenda. It was not until two months later in November that the Utari Association and Kantō-based groups finally staged a joint protest in Hokkaidō and sent statements of complaint directly to the Diet.

During the late 1980s, the Kantō Utari Association was finally rewarded for its persistence vis-à-vis the Metropolitan government. Almost fifteen years after the first, a second survey of Ainu in the capital region was initiated in February 1988 when the Association's petition was accepted at a regular session of the Metropolitan Tokyo Assembly. ¥6,900,000 (today, approximately US$65,500) was allocated to the project that was enacted under the supervision of Suzuki Jiro, Professor Emeritus of Tokyo Metropolitan University. An office was established in Tokyo's Sugamo ward and members of the Kantō Utari Association participated as staff. The survey's report was published in December of the same year (1988) and recorded an *estimated* Kantō resident Ainu population of 2700. As Suzuki (1990) explains in a subsequent paper on the history and function of the survey, the reason for reporting an estimate was due to undercounting. The survey had in fact only identified 1134 Ainu in the greater metropolitan region[7] but through what Suzuki (1990: 72-73) describes as a "complex" calculation, the actual figure was multiplied by 2.38 to provide a final figure of 2699 that has been rounded up to 2700 in all publications since.

The details of the survey did not differ that greatly from the findings of Ainu hardship recorded in the 1975 report. The percentage of Ainu receiving welfare assistance (2.3%) was found to be higher than that of the Tokyo average (1.6%). Ainu were more likely to have a lower level of education than Tokyo residents, 60% of respondents for example stated their highest level of education to be junior high school compared with a metropolitan census statistic of 21%. More Ainu (26.9%) between the

[7] The geographical scope of this survey matched that of the previous one by including the twenty-three wards of the metropolitan core plus the Tama District to the west.

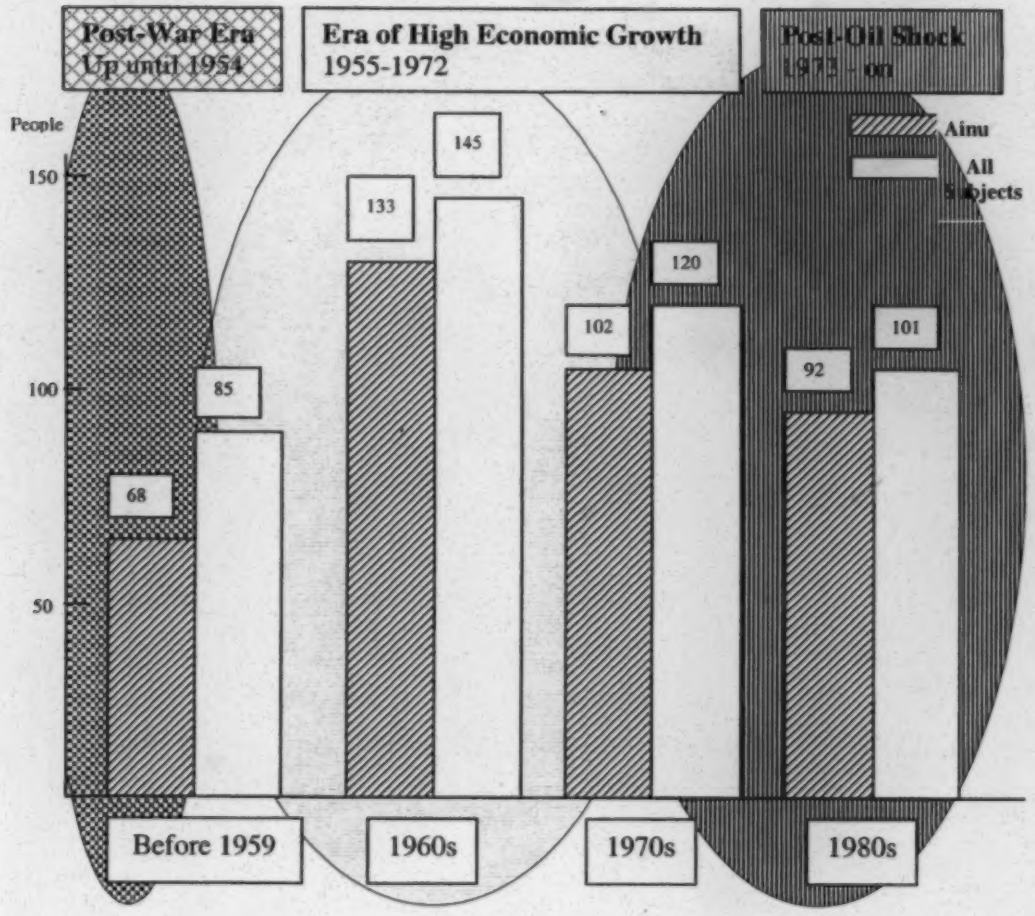


Figure 5.2: Era of Migration to Tokyo (Ainu and All Subjects) Differentiated by Period

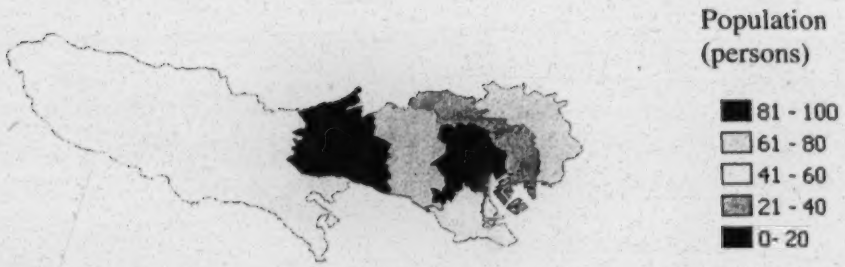
ages of 35 and 40 were unmarried compared with the general Tokyo population (15.9%), a fact that was underscored by the response from 38% of Ainu that the families of their dating partners had insisted on the dissolution of their relationships based on their Ainu heritage. The average income of Ainu households also remained considerably lower than the Tokyo average.

The broader scope of the survey however did provide further evidence of the patterns of Ainu migration over time. Figure 5.2 for example represents a visual chart of the relationship between increases in Ainu migration and changes in wider socio-economic conditions. This demonstrates a distinct relationship between patterns of Ainu

migrancy and the period of high-economic growth and the opportunities for employment it created in major urban centres. In being able to draw comparisons between the 1988 and 1975 survey reports, a tentative analysis can also be made regarding patterns of Ainu residence within the greater metropolitan region and how they have changed over time (see fig. 5.3). This shows that there has been a gradual depopulation of Ainu from central Tokyo due in part perhaps to rising costs of rent and living and the emergence of more settled and permanent forms of residence in the suburbs. Such analysis can only remain tentative however as the number of respondents to the question of their place of residence was far lower than the total number reportedly surveyed. This would concur with general concerns over issues of confidentiality with regard to Ainu research and the desire on the part of many Ainu to remain unidentifiable.

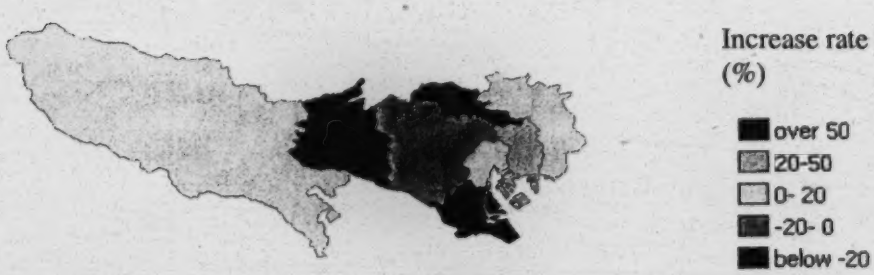
Discussion of respondents however also perhaps frames the most notable feature of the 1988 survey, namely its criteria used for determining 'Ainu'. In distinguishing the survey from its earlier counterpart, it provided a definition, the first ever, of Ainu resident in the capital region. It employed a differentiated form of categorization between 'Ainu' and 'non-Ainu' (*hi Ainu*). Within the context of the survey 'Ainu' denoted an individual of Ainu descent; it is worthy to note however that no limit was provided as to how far back that descent might have been. The latter – 'non-Ainu' – referred to either 'Japanese' (*Nihonjin* – explicitly defined as members of *Nihon minzoku* [the Japanese race] not *Nihon kokumin* [Japanese citizens]) who were married to Ainu or to non-Japanese (therefore people of, for example, North or South Korean ancestry who for the purposes of this survey were not considered as *Nihonjin*) who were married to Ainu. Despite this differentiation, all were counted as Ainu within the survey, however their answers were divided into separate categories as characterized by Figure 5.2.

The significance of this definition is not so much its content than the fact that it was made at all. By providing a definition, Ainu were actually being identified as a distinct population who faced a range of particular issues. The "grounding" of Ainu life in the capital so to speak represented by this move further developed the rationale of the earlier equal rights campaign for Ainu outside of Hokkaidō and asserted the "implacement" of Ainu in the region. Coincidentally, this position came to be enhanced within the public sphere at the time of the survey's publication upon reports in the media



Ainu population in the Greater Metropolitan Region (1975)

Ainu population in the Greater Metropolitan Region (1988)



Increase rate of Ainu population in the Greater Metropolitan Region (1975 to 1988)

Figure 5.3: Comparison of Ainu residence patterns in the Greater Metropolitan Region based on statistics from the 1975 and 1988 surveys.

of the murder of an Ainu labourer and activist, Sakai Mamoru. During the 1980s, Sakai had been a prominent labour and Ainu activist in the day-labouring district of San'ya.[1] His murderer was never found and the coroner recorded an open verdict. The subject of Sakai's murder drew public attention for the first time to the plight of Ainu day labourers and the circumstances faced by Ainu on Tokyo streets. This event along with the survey served to frame the context of the Ainu movement in the following decade as a gradual shift away from issues of 'Kantō resident Ainu' towards those of 'Tokyo' or 'Kantō Ainu'.

The 1990s to Present

The 1990s was a period of political struggle but also of new opportunities that prompted unprecedented co-operation amongst Ainu organizations in the capital. In 1992, Tokyo became a site of protest for Ainu as both groups in Tokyo and from Hokkaidō joined together to demonstrate in front of the National Diet for the abolition of the Hokkaidō Former Natives Protection Act and the passing of new legislation. This protest came the same year as Nomura Goichi, then executive director of the Hokkaidō Utari Association, gave the opening speech of the UN's International Year of Indigenous Peoples at the UN General Assembly. A year later, Indigenous groups from all over the world gathered in Hokkaidō to attend the successful Nibutani Forum to commemorate the start of the UN Decade of Indigenous Peoples.

After growing ties of co-operation between Tokyo and Hokkaidō organizations, the passing of the Cultural Promotion Act (CPA) in 1997 produced familiar tensions for some Ainu leaders in Tokyo for whom the lack of a rights-based *national* policy inclusive of non-Hokkaidō resident Ainu was representative of a continuing pattern of exclusion. As a means of exercising their position in response to the legislation and at the request of government officials, the three established Ainu organizations in the capital region – Young Utari Society, Kantō Utari Association and Ainu Association of Wind – joined with a fourth the *Tokyo Ainu Kyōkai* (Tokyo Ainu Association – newly established in

[1] It appears that because of Sakai's activities, police were believed to have regarded him as a political agitator. One year prior to his murder, for example, Sakai had been involved in an incident of suspected police brutality near Shinjuku station after having been taken to a police box and later sent to hospital in an ambulance with a broken leg and head injuries.

1997 by Ukaji Shizue and consisted of Ainu predominantly from the southern Hokkaidō district of Urakawa) to form a *renrakukai* (contact group) with Hasegawa Osamu (Ainu Association of Wind) as its chief liaison representative in order to speak with one voice for the establishment of a cultural center in Tokyo. With the passing of the CPA in July of 1997 the first Ainu cultural center outside of Hokkaidō opened on September 13th. The impact the CPA and the center has had on Ainu life in Tokyo I pick up on in the following chapter.

During the 1990s and after, the number of public cultural events that the groups started to get involved in increased markedly. The Ainu Association of Wind, for example, regularly put out a *Rera Cise* stall selling Ainu food at several large festivals throughout the year and since 1994 have been co-organizers with local Okinawan groups of the annual *Charanke* festival held in Nakano-ward. Such activities have helped not only to heighten the public consciousness regarding Ainu in Tokyo but also have served to widen the circle of Wajin support. The role that supporters play is an important one for Ainu. From publishers, producers and journalists to mechanics and office workers, the wider the social network of support the easier it becomes to facilitate certain activities that would otherwise be difficult to do on their own. This situation has also witnessed the emergence of mutual projects between Ainu and their supporters. One of the most notable of these was the publication in 2001 of a book of photographs of Ainu life in the capital region by the photographer Ui Makiko. Entitled *Ainu tokidoki nihonjin* (Ainu, but sometimes Japanese), it represented what could be considered the second definition of Ainu identity in the capital. The series of photographs depict "traditional" elements of Ainu life as they relate to Ainu activity in Tokyo such as ceremonial practice but also extend beyond stereotyped representations to characterize Ainu in their everyday, mostly Japanese lives. In conversation with the photographer, who continues to act as a supporter, Ui explained to me that the message she wanted to communicate through the book was primarily aimed at Wajin by stating that contrary to popular opinion it is possible to be 'Japanese' (*nihonjin*) and yet have a separate if integrated (Ainu) identity at the same time. In this way, Japan is not regarded as a homogeneous nation but intersected by a broad range of other ethnic and regional identities. By turning this definition around however it also implies that it is possible to be 'Ainu' and yet have

other identities intersect that experience. Needless to say, the attention this draws to issues of negotiation and plurality as well as to the idea of a non-essentialized "authentic" Ainu identity supports my own position in this thesis and moves the focal point of discussion away from the politics of identity and towards the nature of the (urban) Ainu experience. This shift, described by Gegeo (2001) as being one from 'identity' to 'indigeneity', is an issue that I will return to in Chapter 7.

In the last five years, Ainu organizations have been particularly active. To provide a brief overview of some of these activities: in 2000, the Young Utari Society organized a symposium on the effects of the CPA for non-Hokkaidō Ainu. A survey prepared prior to the event was sent to contributing organizations and identified seventeen different groups outside of Hokkaidō who were either Ainu based or significantly involved in Ainu issues. During the symposium a number of points were raised including the need for a *charanke* (literally meaning 'to argue' – a traditional form of Ainu conflict resolution) between Tokyo Ainu and the Hokkaidō Utari Association to further dialogue on the inclusion of Ainu within the Welfare Act as well as a pressing requirement for more localized surveys on the conditions of Ainu in industrial cities such as Kawasaki where a rising number of Ainu are homeless. April 2001, witnessed the Tokyo Ainu Association participate on a ten day tour to visit and lecture at Cultural Survival at Harvard University. Whilst there members played down a proposal forwarded by Cultural Survival for an oral history project that would unite Hokkaidō and Tokyo elders, to instead voice their vision of an Ainu school in Tokyo, an ambition that they continue to press for. August, 2003 was the date of the first annual *icharpa* held beneath Tokyo Tower at the suspected site of the 1872 Tokyo Agricultural School at which several Ainu died. Although the main rationale of the ceremony was the history of the school, the meaning of the ceremony was extended to assuage the souls of all Ainu who have perished outside of Hokkaidō. In order for this ceremony to take place however, it not only required the advice and help of elders from Hokkaidō but also the identification of several *kamuy* (deities) within the local region that forced Ainu to publicly remap the capital into an Ainu world and thus as an articulated *site* of Ainu identity.

In the following chapters, I draw attention back to my diasporic framework and the significance of "places" in thinking about how Indigenous people come to "implace" themselves within urban environments. As the definition of "place" I use is based upon the notion of social interaction and interrelations that create and change its meaning, the next chapters will elucidate upon the ways in which Ainu life is anchored in the Kantō region through lived relationships at a range of geographical and social levels.

CHAPTER SIX

Promotion or Appropriation? Ainu Strategies and the CPA

Of the three 'places' of Ainu sociality in the capital region that I identify as central to the formation and continuation of the urban Ainu experience, I begin with the Ainu Culture Exchange Center (*Ainu bunka kōryū sentaa*; hereafter, the 'Center') located in the heart of Tokyo. The Center provides an important example of how Ainu manage to work within the limits of government policy to negotiate their experience as urban Ainu and engage with their identity on their own terms. Attempts to appropriate the Center as a 'place' of Ainu activity necessarily involves social interrelationships, the context of which underlines the range of intra-group dynamics that may well complicate at the same time as define Ainu collectivity in the region.

Introduction

Opened on September 13th 1997, the Center's existence is the direct result of new government legislation that was passed by parliament four months prior on May 14th then enacted on July 1st and which, in a supplementary ruling (Article 2), repealed the 1899 Hokkaidō Former Natives Protection Act as well as the 1934 Asahikawa Former Natives Protection Land Disposition Act (*Asahikawa-shi kyūdojin hogochi shobun-ho*). Entitled in full 'The Law for the Promotion of the Ainu Culture and for the Dissemination and Advocacy for the Traditions of the Ainu and the Ainu Culture' (*Ainu bunka shinkō narabi ni Ainu no dentō nado ni kansuru chishiki no fukyū oyobi keihatsu ni kansuru hōritsu*; hereafter 'Cultural Promotion Act' [CPA]), its principal objective as laid out in the Bill's statement of purpose (Article 1) is to "realize the society in which the ethnic pride of the Ainu people is respected and to contribute to the development of diverse cultures in our country".[1] On the face of it, the creation of the Culture Center in the nation's capital is one outcome of what would seem to be a positive shift in Japanese

[1] All translations of the act are taken from the FRPAC website: http://www.frpac.or.jp/eng/index.html. To view the full text of the law, see Appendix 3.

government policy and a step away from the political ideology of ethnic and cultural homogeneity. Indeed, in some quarters it has been regarded as an 'epoch-making' (*kakkiteki*) event (Siddle 2002: 406). For its critics, however (a large number of them Ainu), the law is predominantly of aesthetic not moral value and promotes a static vision of culture-as-tradition that ignores what one Ainu activist refers to as the generation of "real Ainu culture...deep within our daily life" (Asahi Evening News, April 11th-12th 1998). This is a position of particular relevance to Ainu life in the capital that hints at broader frustrations expressed over the CPA's failings "to take into account the real living conditions of Ainu" (Koshida 1997: 11).

The Tokyo Center is officially run and managed by the Foundation for the Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture (*Zaidan hōjin Ainu bunka shinkō/kenkyu suishin kikō*; hereafter FRPAC). The Foundation is a public service corporation established under the auspices of the Hokkaidō Development Agency and the Ministry of Education to oversee the implementation of the CPA (Siddle 2002: 412). FRPAC manages an office in central Sapporo which serves as its headquarters (opened July 1st 1997) as well as the culture center in Tokyo which is located on the third floor of the Yaesu Urban Square building (above a Starbucks coffee shop) a five minute walk from Tokyo Station (Yaesu South exit).[2] It is the significance of the Center as a 'place' of Ainu interaction that I will focus on below but approach it in such a way as to recognize how the social processes that make it an Ainu place are in fact the dynamics of 'strategic appropriation' which represent at some level a campaign of resistance against the ideology of the law that created it. Through consideration of the history and politics of the CPA, I draw on Theodore Adorno's (1991) idea of a paradox existent at the heart of cultural administration to expound on the inherent antithesis between Ainu culture and governmental policy of its promotion and to show how Ainu awareness of the threat that government legislation imposes is inextricably (if not ironically) linked to its positive affirmation (cf. Lynes 1995: 85). Building on this point, the Center will provide an example of how Ainu have been able to work within the politically circumscribed conditions of the law to transform a public space into a place of Ainu communality and

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[2] A map of the Tokyo office as well as the headquarters located in Sapporo can be found on-line at: http://www.frpac.or.jp/eng/e_prf/profile03.html (last accessed September 3rd 2005).

therefore as a space in which to nurture the natural properties of culture which not only "threaten" the very viability of its administration (cf. Lynes 1995: 84) but also promises to serve as a foundation for the urban Ainu movement in the future.

I turn first to a detailed description of the Center and history of its establishment before considering the wider politics of the CPA and how it frames discussion of Ainu usage of the space.

The Ainu Culture Exchange Center in Tokyo

In terms of its official remit, the function of the Center in Tokyo differs quite markedly from its counterpart in Sapporo. As a 'culture center' its role is essentially threefold: first, to help support Ainu activities of cultural transmission in the capital region; second, to promote exchange between Ainu and non-Ainu about Ainu traditions; and third, to provide information and material for Ainu and the general public regarding Ainu culture. These goals fulfill the four basic policies that underpin the Foundation's establishment:

1. Promotion of comprehensive and practical research on the Ainu
2. Promotion of the Ainu language
3. Promotion of Ainu culture
4. Dissemination of knowledge on Ainu traditions

(Tsunemoto 2001: 125-126)

For 2005 the allocated budget for the operation of the Center was ¥48,730,000 (US$ 443,705) or approximately 6.8% of FRPAC funds that, although slightly up from ¥48,699,000 the previous year, represents a 12.5% decrease in total funding since 2000. With such funding that, in the context of metropolitan governance, is quite remarkable given the lack of urban initiatives for Indigenous issues in other countries, it would seem that the Center occupies a key role in the CPA's plan. However, because its development has been far from straightforward it has provided Ainu in Tokyo with access to the decision making process.

The Center's opening in the middle of September 1997 was some two and a half months after the enactment of the law and some four months after the law had been

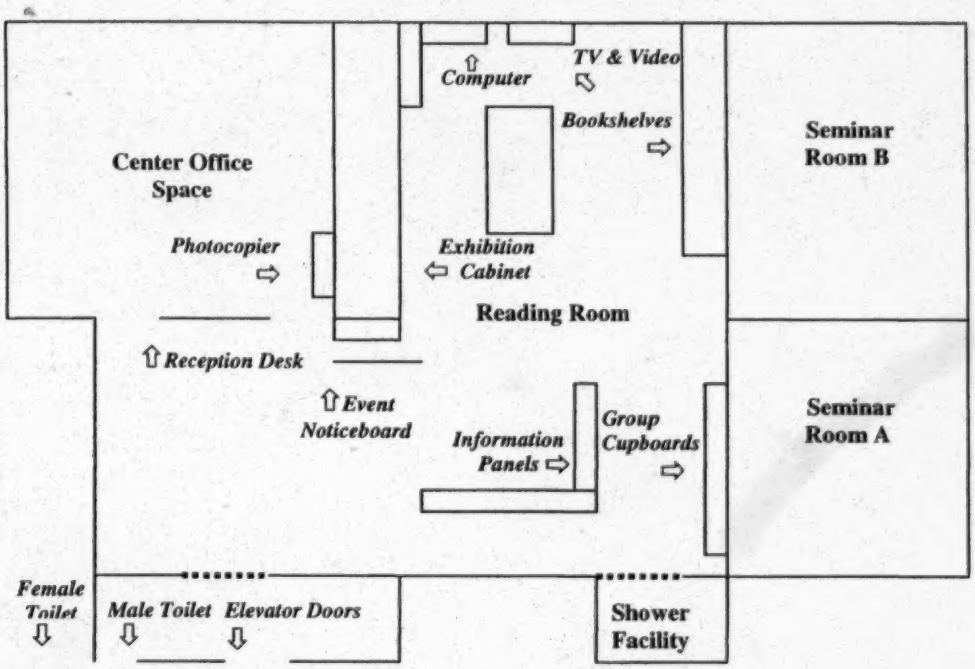

Figure 6.2: A diagram of the floorplan of the Ainu Culture Exchange Center. (N.B.: not to scale)

approved by parliament. It is a little unclear what the intentions of the government had initially been with regard to the Center or indeed if it had even featured in the original plans of their vision for the CPA's implementation. Nevertheless, announcements regarding the progress of the CPA into legislation during the spring of 1997, (that had seemed less certain several months previous due to the government's refusal to recognize the Indigenous rights of the Ainu people in the law [Siddle 2002: 409; a matter which I return to below]), acted as an unexpected catalysis for a new phase of co-operation and self-organization of Ainu in the Kantō region. Despite a prevalent sense of mistrust and betrayal on the part of many Kantō resident Ainu regarding promises made in Tokyo in the early 1990s by Hokkaidō Ainu leaders about their resolve to ensure the provision of economic self-determination and welfare security for *all* Ainu *irrespective of location* in any future law (see Ohtsuka & Yoshida 2003: 22-24), the prospective benefits of the CPA as the first national Ainu policy offered opportunities that Ainu did not want to miss out on. In order to ensure that their own voice would be heard a new umbrella group was

formed in the capital called the *Ainuutari Renrakukai* (Ainu Contact Group) comprised of the four main Ainu associations and other Ainu related groups and individuals. Its rationale was not to act as a lower branch of the Hokkaidō Utari Association but to adopt a new point of departure altogether and to forge new relations with various parties including the government over issues faced by Ainu in the capital (Hasegawa 1997: 6). Separate letters outlining the group's statement of intent were sent to both Sasaki Kōmei, then president of FRPAC and Sasamura Jiro, then vice-president of the Foundation and Executive Director of the Hokkaidō Utari Association.[1] In the former, a request was made to enter into negotiations over the role the group might have in the set-up and future direction of the Center. This was duly noted and eventually taken up by FRPAC.

For the *Renrakukai*, the plans for an Ainu Center in Tokyo once again raised hopes for the establishment of a *seikatsukan* in the capital. However it was soon clear that the emphasis of the law on cultivating a diverse and respectful national society would not allow that to happen. Instead, the group had to make the best of working with the idea of a Culture Exchange Center primarily oriented towards the dissemination of information to the general public about Ainu culture and traditions. By following the physical imprint of those negotiations on the design and operation of the Center itself, however, it is possible to begin to see how Ainu sought to appropriate it for their own use.

Layout, Function and Organization

At 240m², the Center offers a spacious environment considering its location in the heart of the financial and banking district of one of the world's busiest and most populated cities. In fact the location of the Center had been an initial point of contention during negotiations. A number of Ainu aligned with the *Rera Cise* and Ainu Association of Wind saw the Center as an opportunity to consolidate the geography of Ainu activities by establishing it to the west of Tokyo in Nakano ward. Other Ainu were wary of this plan and of the influence the Ainu Association of Wind might be able to exert over its management at a later date. Furthermore, in line with the Foundation's intentions to have it in central Tokyo in order to facilitate access for visitors, Ainu resident in outerlying

[1] Copies of these letters can be found in Hasegawa (1997: 11-13).

parts of the Kantō region were anxious for it to be centralized and therefore easily reachable by train. Such factional friction underlined the inter-personal and intra-group tensions implicit to creating a new place of activity. The final decision located the Center in central Tokyo.[2]

Along with its location, the hours of operation were also a fundamental point for negotiation. At present the Center is open from 1pm to 9pm on weekdays and 10am to 6pm on Saturdays and public holidays. It is officially closed on Sundays and Mondays (unless it falls on a public holiday) and the days following public holidays. Restricted access is allowed for Ainu only on Sunday. This exception represents another concession to the *seikatsukan* model. Open access to a familiar or what one would often hear referred to as a 'non-intimidating' atmosphere is the basis of a *seikatsukan* where Ainu are able to attend and participate in activities without fear of prejudice or judgment regarding their involvement. As the Center is open to the public every day it was important for the *Renrakukai* to gain special consideration for its usage and to provide a private space in which Ainu can learn from each other and exchange information.

In a similar manner, the outcome of negotiations is also reflected in the physical design of the Center. As one exits the elevators serving the third floor and enters the Center through a narrow lobby/hallway one immediately moves into a small exhibition area with a glass case housing a rotated exhibit, usually a *tonkori* (a five-stringed Ainu instrument), and large information panels to the right providing basic background to Ainu history in Hokkaidō. There is also a cursory introduction (peppered with interactive buttons!) to the properties of "Ainu culture": namely, language, dance (*rimse*), music (for example the *tonkori* and *mukkuri* [mouth harp]) and craftwork (sewing, weaving, woodwork). These panels also serve a more functional purpose as spatial divisions. Arranged at a right angle away from the wall, the space created behind them provides an element of privacy away from the main reference area. This has two roles: first, it gives Ainu access to a row of four metal cabinets, one assigned to each of the Ainu organizations, in which materials for meetings or classes are kept. In doing this, it forms

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[2] One argument to locate the Center in Nakano was regarding the low level of leasing costs compared to central Tokyo, which has some of the highest prices for office space in the world. This would have allowed more money to be released into the promotion of Ainu activities. In the end, accessibility and public prominence guided the decision to establish the Center where it is today.

a constant reminder of the relations that divide as well as unify Ainu collectivity in the region. Second, it sections off access to a door that opens onto a washroom and shower facility. In fact this door is so discrete that even a repeat visitor will not know that a shower room is there. This feature is again reflective of the *seikatsukan* model and indicative of the wider campaign of Kantō resident Ainu aimed at integrating Ainu issues into the social policy of the metropolitan government. The shower symbolizes the experience of discrimination many Ainu face in public bathhouses from Wajin due to their hirsute features. As many Ainu live at the lower end of the economic scale and may not be able to afford an apartment with an adjoining bathroom, the use of public facilities is often a necessity. The incorporation of a shower in the Center therefore extends the concept of "culture" beyond the narrow definition endorsed by the law to include the wider structural issues of discrimination and social marginalization that Ainu may face in their everyday lives.

Another progressive aspect of the Center's design is the inclusion of two rather large seminar rooms adjacent to the reference and reading area. The larger of the two rooms (Room A in fig. 6.1) is where monthly lectures organized by the Foundation in a series called *Kiroroan* are held. It can hold up to approximately fifty people seated. This room also houses a concealed mirror that spans one of the walls and is used for dance practice. The applied utility of these rooms, however, is as a meeting space where groups are able to gather, plan and discuss, the significance of which should not be underestimated. The convenience that such space affords enhances the ability of Ainu groups to solidify their support and share experiences as characterized by a discussion forum held between Ainu at the Center in November 1997, which was later published as a chapter in the thirty year retrospective of the Young Utari Society (see Peure Utari no Kai Henshūiinkai 1998). In addition to the provision of space, the Center also allows Ainu access to a photocopier free of charge (a privilege extended to the public at ten pages free per visit) as well as a noticeboard on which to place advertisements for upcoming events. Such advantages are the reason why the Center is considered by many Ainu as being, at the very least, a step in the right direction (Arai 1998: 13).

Of course, any enthusiasm is also tempered by some rather harsh realities. Alongside the approval of such concessions, a comparable number of restrictions

imposed by the administration of the Center ensure that the protocol of the law is followed and the broader ambitions of social and political progress curtailed. One major and rather perplexing point is that due to the building's safety regulations fire cannot be used in the Center. This means that the fundamental "properties" of Ainu culture that utilize fire such as the *kamuy nomi* (prayer to the deities) ceremony for example cannot be performed (Arai 1998: 13). As *ape fuchi kamuy* (the deity of fire) occupies such a revered place in Ainu culture and cosmology it would seem rather incredulous that in a space dedicated to the promotion of Ainu cultural heritage offerings cannot be made to her. Nevertheless, not wishing to portray this as tangible evidence of the intentional obstruction to 'living Ainu culture', it is important to bear in mind that such regulations represent the civic constraints of an urban environment and characterize the familiar pressures faced by Indigenous peoples wishing to transmit culture in metropolitan areas – a bind that prompted organizers of the *Rera Cise* to find and manage their own space. The inevitable tension over who controls "culture" that this kind of restriction gives rise to often expresses itself in the general opinion of Ainu who wish to have a greater say in how the Center is run and freer access to its facilities. To say the least, this sense of antagonism is only exacerbated by the fact that (to the chagrin of Ainu) the director of the Center is neither an Ainu representative nor a specialist in the field of Ainu culture but an appointed civil servant from the Hokkaidō government who is solely responsible to the Managing Director and Secretary General of the Foundation in Sapporo. Until now the director has had little to no knowledge of Ainu affairs prior to taking up the position. He (there has yet to have been a female appointment) usually serves a two year contract before being replaced at short notice (as is customary in the Japanese public sector) by a successor at the end of the second fiscal year (March 31st). Three other staff are also employed, two of whom are currently Ainu from the Kantō region.

One of the problems I wish to elabourate on with regard to this appointment system is that by bringing an uneducated bureaucrat (in the realm of Ainu issues that is) into the Center can run the risk of offending Ainu with an ill-considered comment or act. One example that I heard of during the time I was there was an off-the-cuff remark the director had made regarding the locking of the toilet doors to prevent homeless people coming in to use them. The toilets that serve the Center are located to the left of the

elevators. The first is the men's toilet and through a door to the emergency stairwell of the building, is the women's – both are identified by labels with the appropriate Ainu terms written in katakana. The director's comment upset one Ainu elder in particular who had worked for a number of years with and on behalf of Ainu homeless in Tokyo. The assumption the elder had made from this was that not all Ainu were welcome to use the Center's facilities. This is a deep-seated concern for Ainu that stretches into consternation with the law as a whole. As expressed by the Kantō-based Ainu International Network in their statement to the WGIP in 1998, anxieties exist over the possible social division of Ainu by the law into "those who can practice our "traditional culture" (sing our songs, make our crafts, or speak our language) and those who cannot".[3] Examples of this kind of insensitivity to the broader set of issues of Ainu life, of which "culture" as defined by the law is only a small part, continue to raise questions and with it frustrations for Ainu over the Center's actual role as a space of Ainu culture.

But then, at the same time, the law has initiated a process of learning for *both* Wajin staff at the Foundation as well as the general public. Indeed, on the odd occasion there is encouraging evidence that lessons have been learnt as demonstrated by the appearance one day of an advisory notice on the front door of the Center itself stating that "staff does not arrange interviews with Ainu" as well as a message regarding the prohibition of photography. Such evidence of the shift away from the objectification of Ainu towards recognition of their subjectivity speaks to the prominent effect Ainu relations have had in the establishment and running of the center.

How do the wider politics and genealogy of the CPA relate to the use of the Center by Ainu? In what way does the historical background of the policy's formation frame the broader discussion of Ainu place-making dynamics in the capital and provide insight into the social processes at work at the Center? By looking at the evolution of the

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[3] This perspective holds striking parallels to Arild Hovland's assessment of Norwegian Saami identity. Hovland points out that command of the Saami language and residency within a Saami area has the potential to give you, amongst other things: "(1) control over land and resources, (2) control over institutions, (3) access to attractive jobs and educational institutions, (4) scholarships, and (5) higher status in the world where the slightly exotic only goes to differentiate you as somewhat better" (Hovland 1995: 2). Although the last point may have difficulty in cross-cultural translation, the conditions contained within the CPL suggest that those with greater "indigenous cultural capital" will at some time in the future also possess the tools of indigenous authority with which to access opportunities in the wider society.

CPA from the inception of the New Ainu Law (*Ainu Shinpō*) in 1984, one can attain a better understanding of the unique situation of Kantō resident Ainu in terms of government policy and how this shapes the "strategic appropriation" of the Center for their own purposes.

Promotion or Appropriation? The History and Politics of the CPA

CPA legislation has its roots in the *Ainu Minzoku ni kansuru Hōritsu* (Draft Legislation for the Ainu People), commonly referred to as the *Ainu Shinpō* or New Ainu Law, which a ten member Special Committee of the Hokkaidō Utari Association had prepared over three years from 1981 on before finally presenting it before its General Assembly where it was adopted on May 27th 1984 (see Siddle 1996: 180-184).[4] The main purpose of the New Ainu Law was to abolish the Hokkaidō Former Natives Protection Act and replace it with a politically progressive policy based on formal recognition of the Ainu as an Indigenous people. Born of an increasing awareness of the situation of Indigenous peoples around the world, Hokkaidō Ainu leaders sought to use the law to redefine the relationship of Ainu to the nation-state by pushing for the right to self-determination as laid out in numerous international charters. In its proposal it forwarded a position articulated around six points: 1) the elimination of all forms of discrimination against Ainu through a declaration of basic human rights, 2) the provision of seats for Ainu within national and regional assemblies, 3) the promotion of cultural and educational policies, 4) revocation of legal restrictions and allow Ainu the means to attain economic independence from the agricultural and fishing industries as well as promote employment opportunities within the forestry, manufacturing and trading sectors, 5) establishment of a fund for Ainu self-reliance (so-called Ainu Independence Fund (AIF)), and 6) organization of a standing consultative Ainu body (Hasegawa 2004, Kawashima 2004: 33).[5] With the exception of 2), all of these measures constituting the New Ainu Law were later recommended by a special council to the Governor of Hokkaidō who appealed for its enactment to the national government in 1988.[6]

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[4] To view the content of the New Ainu Law, see Appendix 2.

[5] For a wider discussion of the New Ainu Law, see Nomura (1997).

[6] As Tsunemoto notes, the Council rejected the provision of seats for Ainu in national and regional assemblies "on the ground that this would contravene the Constitutional provisions in articles 14 and 44

After the Governor had put his support behind the proposal however, its progress at the national level stalled. Four years later and irritated by the loss of momentum and inaction on the part of the government, Ainu from Hokkaidō, Kantō and other parts of Japan joined together in the capital to participate in the first mass Ainu demonstration through the streets of Tokyo ending up outside of the Diet buildings.[7] Despite this show of unity, nothing was to happen until the fall of the ruling Liberal Democrat Party (LDP) and the election into power of a socialist coalition government in 1993 and the passage the following year of the Ainu elder, Kayano Shigeru, into the House of Councillors. Kayano, a well-known Ainu elder and cultural activist from the village of Nibutani in eastern Hokkaidō, had initially lost his candidacy in the national election in 1993 but the death of the Hokkaidō representative Matsumoto Eiichi in the summer of 1994 vacated a Japan Socialist Party seat that allowed Kayano to become the first Ainu ever to enter national government.[8] With the collabouration of the Chief Cabinet Secretary, Igarashi Kōzō, a seven member Council of Experts on the Implementation of Countermeasures for the Ainu People (*Utari taisaku no arikata ni taisuru yūshikisha kondankai*) was established in March 1995. After a year of hearings, meetings and trips to Hokkaidō, the council produced a report about their findings on April 1st, 1996.[9]

The report raises several important issues. Firstly, it notes the presence of Ainu in Hokkaidō before the Japanese and agrees in principle to the "Indigenousness" of the Ainu people. It utterly avoids however the idea of formulating new measures based upon an international agenda of rights for Indigenous peoples (Neary 2002: 58). This mirrors comments of Prime Minister Hashimoto Ryutaro at the time that Ainu are a "minority people" who are "indigenous to Hokkaido" but without admitting that they are an "Indigenous people" (*senjūminzoku*) (Levin 2001: 468). Ultimately, the reasons for this relate to the politics of nationhood. In the final section of the report entitled 'Trends of Discussions in the UN and other Organizations', the Council definitively concludes:

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mandating the equality of voting rights, and article 43 section 1 that requires each member of the Diet to represent "all the people" (Tsunemoto 2001: 122; also see Kawashima 2004: 34).

[7] The group in Tokyo who took on most of the responsibilities for the demonstration's organization had been the Kantō Utari Association, headed at that time by Urakawa Haruzo. Urakawa would eventually leave the group and join his sister, Ukaji Shizue in forming the Tokyo Ainu Association in 1997.

[8] For a short biography and interview with Kayano whilst he was still in office, see Whipple (1995).

[9] For a detailed history of this period, see Siddle (2002: 406-412).

"the right of self-determination, which involves the determination of the ethnic group's political position, such as separation and independence from the nation, and the return of and compensation for the land and resources of Hokkaidō, cannot be regarded as the basis for new measures for the Ainu in Japan."

What the report actually identifies as an acceptable basis for policy in a section entitled 'Development of New Measures' is the "basic idea" of measures that "further contribute to the realization of the national society and culture in which the ethnic pride of the Ainu is respected". Based on this perspective, the report asserts that: "New Ainu measures ... will not be implemented from the viewpoint of compensation or indemnification for the past". The utter refutation of a diachronic perspective – that only five years earlier the Canadian government had argued should form the cornerstone of modern Aboriginal policy – reaffirms the distinct variance in the "language landscape" of international Indigenous policy (Murphy-Stewart 1999).[10] However, in an article by Council member Yamauchi Masayuki (1996), professor of Middle Eastern history and Area Studies at Tokyo University, it appears that the idea of (collective) rights had not been completely ignored by the Council but deemed too complex an issue to be addressed in such a short period of time, especially with regard to the politics of constitutional reform it would entail.

A second, critical issue of the report was its recommendation to implement measures solely relating to the promotion and preservation of Ainu culture. Its working definition of "culture" however did not extend to the activities of everyday life but was based on a narrow and essentialist interpretation of "tradition", identifying language, dance, craftwork and other expressive elements as its fundamental properties. Notwithstanding the fact that today most Ainu have little time or interest in "culture",

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[10] In 1991, four Aboriginal and three non-Aboriginal commissioners were chosen by the Canadian government to head the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) to investigate ways in which social justice could be legislated for with regard to Aboriginal peoples, based on their history of oppression and discrimination at the hands of the non-Aboriginal population. The Commission held 178 days of public hearings, visited 96 communities and sought advice from numerous experts and academic studies. In the preamble to the official report, the commissioners state the central conclusion to their findings as being: "*The main policy direction, pursued for more than 150 years first by colonial then by Canadian governments, has been wrong*" (original emphases). Over and above anything else, the RCAP report maintains that without an apology for the past there can be no real future for Aboriginal policy.

being too preoccupied as they are with the mundane realities of economic survival (Ainu International Network 1998, Tahara 1998), this exclusive focus on culture totally dismissed Ainu proposals for revised human rights legislation, the right to effective participation, access to natural resources as well as assurances of financial security and independence put forward in the original draft of the New Ainu Law. In doing so, the Council of Experts reworked the idea of social and economic self-reliance put forward by Ainu as a matter of welfare that they decided should be integrated into the fourth-term measures (1995-2001) of the Hokkaidō Utari Welfare Act. This, of course, is extremely problematic as the overall aim of those welfare measures is to help improve the inferior living conditions of Ainu which has nothing to do with the original intention of the AIF to strengthen the ethnic development and movement of the Ainu people – including those in the Kantō region – and their Indigenous identity (Kawashima 2004: 34, Siddle 2002: 409).

Notwithstanding criticism from many Ainu organizations and a growing network of support, the enactment of the law in 1997 closely followed the recommendations of the Council's report. On the issue of Indigenous recognition that originally had been left out of the law, a supplementary resolution was added during its passage through the lower and upper houses testifying to the "Indigenous nature of the Ainu" (*Ainu no senjūsei*) as an "historical fact", a rather abstract if not insignificant clause. This resolution was inserted at the eleventh hour in response to the landmark ruling in the Nibutani Dam case given on March 27th (1997) by the Sapporo District Court just six days after the formal acceptance of the draft legislation by the Cabinet that recognized the Ainu as an "Indigenous minority".[11] In an attempt to quell renewed attempts on the part of Ainu leaders to (re)incorporate "Indigenous rights" (*senjūken*) into the draft and, at the same time, erase any ambiguity with regard to forthcoming negotiations with the Russian government over the sovereignty of the Northern Territories, the Cabinet opted for the wording "Indigenous nature". Of course, as none of the appended resolutions (there are five in total) are legally binding, the sole focus of the current policy on cultural

[11] See Chapter 1, footnote 1 for references regarding this ruling.

promotion has prompted Ainu representatives to make a concerted effort to push their case for Indigenous rights within the international arena (Dietz 1999).[12]

The Impact and Significance of the CPA for Ainu in the Capital Region

When compared with the original draft of the New Ainu Law, or even the version approved by the Hokkaidō Governor, the content of the CPA was a huge disappointment for Ainu outside of Hokkaidō. The momentous push for legal equality that had been previously promised by Hokkaidō Ainu leaders never materialized and the major issue of welfare equalization was left unchallenged. Economic and social provisions for Ainu resident outside of Hokkaidō had originally been incorporated into the plan for a self-reliance fund. The Utari Association continue to include Kantō Ainu in official documents relating to this,[13] but whilst the Council of Experts had recognized a need for new Ainu policy design in their report, they eventually recommended the continuation of fourth-term welfare measures and therefore the exclusion of an Independence Fund from legislative debate. Unsurprisingly, this position fell squarely within the parameters of government policy that regards welfare as the responsibility of local *not* national assemblies. As with Indigenous rights, in the final policy document the only mention given to this issue was in a supplementary (nonbinding) resolution citing the need "to continue to expand support for the existing Hokkaidō Utari Welfare Measures".[14]

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[12] To compare the legislation drafted in 1984 with the version finally enacted thirteen years later is to realize how watered down the CPA eventually became. Kawashima (2004) provides historical analysis of the legislative process that suggests a direct correlation between Ainu (non-)participation in policy negotiations and the stature of Ainu rights in policy. For example, the committee formed to draft the initial *Ainu Shinpō* in 1984 consisted of eight Ainu and two Wajin; the consultative body that recommended a revised draft of the Shinpō to the Hokkaidō Governor in 1988 consisted of five Ainu and eight Wajin; the Council of Experts that put together the report to Cabinet consisted of seven Wajin and no Ainu. From this it is easy to agree with Kawashima's conclusion that "[t]his legislative history apparently shows the importance of effective indigenous participation in the design of legislative measures intended to protect their interests" (Kawashima 2004: 40).

[13] The most recent mention of the non-legal position of Ainu in Tokyo occurs on page 7 of the 2005 report authored by the Utari Association and submitted to Mr. Doudou Diene, Special Rapporteur to the UN Commission on Human Rights during his visit to Japan in July. The reference reads: "Even today, the "Ainu problem" continues to be treated as an issue specific to Hokkaidō, a local issue, its true nature minimized, twisted and distorted. For Ainu living outside Hokkaidō, the application of policies for Ainu in respect of education and labour is not recognized, and their position in the legal system is no different from any other non-Ainu Japanese." I am most grateful to Georgina Stevens for drawing my attention to this report.

[14] This is problematic as it does not ensure that the welfare measures will be extended when the policy phase expires.

The response of some Ainu in the capital since the implementation of the CPA has been to continue lobbying the Hokkaidō Utari Association for more action to be taken over the scope of the Utari welfare measures. One leader in particular has requested on a number of occasions the opportunity to resolve the dispute in a traditional Ainu way by entering into a *charanke* with its leaders, a custom referring to the settling of differences through discussion and argumentation.[15] To date, a reply to the offer is still outstanding. The position of exclusion, however, has shaped a definitively regionalized response to political issues. Ainu in Tokyo continue to campaign for a law that recognizes the Ainu as a people (*minzoku seisaku*) and that provides rights for Ainu across Japan. This states that although they may reside in Tokyo and beyond the normalized geography of ancestral borders it still does not detract from their Ainu identity and therefore their status as Indigenous people. At the same time, however, and cognizant of the slim chances they have in realizing such a law now that the CPA is in place, a more focused effort has developed to forge new relations with the Human Rights Office of the Metropolitan government and to work within the local parameters of the Japanese political system. This seeks to pioneer a new era of political rights for Ainu in the capital.

What opportunities the CPA has provided in the way of promoting Ainu participation in cultural activities has produced some notable effects in the capital. Despite predictions that up to 95% of Ainu do not or cannot participate in cultural preservation efforts (Ainu International Network 1998), a "new" generation of Ainu who had never before been interested or perhaps never had the means of focusing on traditional elements of their culture before is emerging in the capital. In the process, it is bolstering the numbers of those involved in a range of social and political events. Added to this is the fact that among those who are becoming involved for the first time, many are the sons and daughters or extended relations of elders, an unforeseen, though welcome, effect of family re-unification as a result of the law.

One further facet of this discussion is the emergence of perhaps the first generation of Ainu to be born and raised outside of Hokkaidō and to be active in cultural events. The relationship this group has developed with culture is most interesting as it is

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[15] Kayano Shigeru (1994: 25-26) provides one example of an *uko-charanke* ('uko' meaning "mutually" and 'charanke' meaning "to let words fall" or "argue") that lasted six days and nights. Proof, Kayano writes, "that the Ainu do not solve disputes by violence" (1994: 25).

solely reliant upon the willingness of a small circle of Ainu in Tokyo to teach the traditional culture. In this way, the development of "lived relationships" with relations, friends and acquaintances in Hokkaidō is of paramount importance. By being almost obliged to look to Hokkaidō for assistance and inspiration, the activities of the younger generation have started to solidify their own routes of social exchange between Hokkaidō and Tokyo (and other cities across Japan). This has started to chart new diasporic geographies of activity and co-operation. At the same time, it has also drawn extra attention to the significance of places in Tokyo for cultural performance and, in particular, the space of the *Rera Cise* restaurant as a site for Ainu life in the capital. The generational divide between Ainu in Tokyo, however, also reflects a sign of the times and of the different world in which the younger generation have grown up. Today's youth, for example, are more likely to be better educated. The effect of this on their own Ainu identity has been one of being more open to the international arena of Indigenous peoples and recognizing themselves as Ainu as well as Indigenous youth. This has been the reason for several young Ainu from Tokyo to participate in the annual WGIP meetings in Geneva as well as travel abroad for cultural exchanges. In fact, at this moment, one young (Tokyo) Ainu woman is pursuing her Masters degree in Indigenous Studies at a Norwegian university and another at a university in Australia. For this new generation of cosmopolitan Ainu, it will be interesting to see how their relationship with traditional culture is influenced by their international experiences.

Building on the topic of the activities of today's younger Ainu, other positive effects of the CPA include the enhanced mobility of Ainu groups and individuals on exchange trips or cultural promotion activities within Japan and abroad. Under special funds established by the program, Ainu from Kantō have travelled nationally to areas including Kyūshū, Osaka and (obviously) Hokkaidō as well as to the US, Canada, Germany and Australia. The participation of urban Ainu from Tokyo on such trips often complicates the familiar representation of the Ainu as a rural northern population "living in harmony with nature" (*shizen to kyosei suru Ainu*) (as the Council of Experts put it at one stage in their report), although the fact is, the irony of such identity issues in exhibitions and workshops mostly goes unchallenged. Often, Ainu undertake these trips as a designated Ainu Cultural Activity Adviser (*Ainu bunka katsudō adobaizaa*) and in

this capacity receive remuneration for their time and work. In a small way, the CPA has made it possible for some Ainu to invest their efforts full-time into culture and make a living from it, although this is dependent upon a regular schedule of events. Conversely, the mobility of Ainu from Hokkaidō down to Tokyo to give a talk or to lead a workshop provides new opportunities for family members to meet up and for support networks to be established, renewed or strengthened, once again drawing attention to the Center and the *Rera Cise* as important spaces of consociation.

Finally, it is important to point out that, unlike its predecessor, the CPA is the first national Ainu policy and therefore extends privileges to Ainu in the capital region for the first time. Despite evident drawbacks regarding the omission of socio-economic rights and the administration of culture that I move on to below, it has had a significant impact on the Ainu movement in the capital and many agree that its benefits have enhanced co-operation between the different organizations and, in the process, energized efforts for the future.

The Center as 'Place': Strategic Appropriation and the Politics of Culture

As *the* site of Ainu culture in the capital yet, at the same time, *the* symbol of government appropriation and (neo-colonial) paternalism, the Center occupies a conflicted space in the Ainu geography of Tokyo and in the imagination of Ainu individuals. It is, after all, representative of continuing governmental control over the definition and direction of Ainu life and culture. In Article 2 of the CPA, "Ainu culture" is defined as meaning "the Ainu language and cultural properties such as music, dance, crafts, and other cultural properties which have been inherited by the Ainu people, and other cultural properties developed from these". By defining Ainu culture in this way, the law promotes a static and traditional understanding of culture as a form of customary behaviour over and above the more modern idea of culture as a highly differentiated concept of everyday life that focuses less on performative properties than on "affectively engaged human beings who follow (in varying degrees and a myriad of manners) particular lifeways" (Rapport & Overing 2000: 94). In many respects, this opposition between static and fluid understandings reflects a position adopted by many Ainu critics who are more likely to tend towards the latter definition. As one Ainu activist in Tokyo has observed: "[Culture]

is not just something interesting for the Japanese. It is our life itself. That's the concept that the new law and the foundation is overlooking. The new law has nothing to do with our daily life" (Asahi Evening News April 11-12, 1998).

In view of the politics of control embedded in the legislative text as well as in the history of the law itself, it is apparent that a more cautious approach needs to be taken when addressing Japanese claims of open and pluralistic policy-making. Tessa Morris-Suzuki (2002) has elabourated on this point to caution that current government policy on social and cultural diversity within Japan should be regarded as a form of "cosmetic multiculturalism". While she admits that any official acknowledgement of ethnic plurality in Japan is to be supported, its articulation in practice is tightly controlled and systematized. Using the CPA and Japanese immigration policy as examples, she picks up on four characteristic conditions: 1) desirable diversity stems from a definition of culture which is narrowly defined (as above); 2) displays of cultural diversity are tightly controlled and administered; 3) diversity remains a "form of exterior decoration" and does not, under any circumstances, "demand major structural changes to existing institutions" (2002: 171); and 4) displays of difference must be accompanied by shows of loyalty to the nation. One of the obvious concerns with such tightly circumscribed conditions is that legislative control will extend beyond culture to influence personal understandings of social identity. Richard Siddle (2002), for example, in his paper on the politics of the CPA, expresses concern over the possible future valorization of an 'authentic' Ainu identity based on cultural capital in the traditional arts. Such potential, he writes, may well realize the warning of one young Ainu in the 1960s that "all Ainu will only end up in the image created for them by Wajin" (Hatozawa 1972: 64 quoted in Siddle 2002: 414).

When considering the role of the Center and its dynamic as an Ainu 'place' in the capital region, however, I believe there is an opportunity to move beyond mere reiteration of the CPA's obvious flaws as reflected in the Center's public function. We can instead talk about how Ainu actually use the space and, in so doing, highlight the range of strategies they employ to appropriate the services offered for their *own* purposes. This follows on what the social theorist Theodore Adorno (1991) describes as a paradox of culture that complicates the more taken-for-granted antithesis between culture and

administration. For Adorno, culture is threatened by any kind of administration, *regardless of who carries it out*. Yet to do nothing for culture threatens its viability. In an Ainu context, the subtleties of this conundrum have been addressed by Katarina Sjöberg (1993: 174-180) in her discussion of the cultural work of Kayano Shigeru and the indifference many Ainu have regarding the relevance of his authority as Ainu as opposed to that of Wajin. Nevertheless, Adorno wishes to impress on us that it is a mistake to think of culture as merely the passive victim of administration. The indeterminacy of culture means that it always poses an inherent threat to any form of rational organization, a dialectic that establishes an uneasy balance of power in matters of cultural policy. As David Lynes (1995: 84) sums up so well: "Against the administrative interest in precision, continuity, speed and calculability of results, culture's originality, irrationality (in administrative terms) and potential for radical change represents not just a challenge to administrative priorities, but a threat to administration's very viability". This is where the paradox exists: that whilst culture poses a threat to administrative rationale it cannot very well survive on its own and therefore requires representatives who must talk on its behalf but who must be careful not to dissolve its uniqueness into the systematization of administrative criteria and risk losing its legitimacy. In terms of the CPA, this states that notwithstanding the inappropriateness of its paternalism and policy with regard to culture, Ainu must be wary to not aid the "appropriation of cultural traditions for administrative ends" (Lynes 1995: 85).

A principal example of this paradox in Tokyo that sheds light on Ainu responses to the law and in turn designates the Center as an Ainu 'place' took place on its opening day. As reported in a number of newspapers on September 14th, at the opening ceremony Ainu conducted traditional dances and performed a *chise nomi* ceremony. The *chise nomi* literally means an offering or prayer given to a house and therefore translates as a "house-warming ceremony" (Munro 1963). The Scottish doctor Neil Gordon Munro, who lived with and cared for Ainu in Nibutani for over thirty years, describes its traditional significance as "a ceremony which must take place before a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an old house" (1963: 74). A photograph of the event appearing in the morning edition of the *Nihon Keizai Shinbun* showed the instalment in the Center of a temporary hearth with *inaw* (shaved fetishes used as

offerings) representing *kamuy* (deities) placed in its corners, and several Ainu male elders from Hokkaidō and Tokyo (including Kayano Shigeru) and other Ainu dressed in *kaparimip* (Ainu kimono) seated on the floor either side of it with Wajin bureaucrats from FRPAC seated on chairs behind. The main focus of the photograph however was of an Ainu man (from Tokyo) who stood to the side of the hearth holding a traditional bow ready to fire an arrow (that, if custom was being followed, would have been made of mugwort) into the Center's roof.[16] This action represented a pivotal moment of the ceremony when evil spirits were to be expunged from the *cise*, in this case the Center, and warned off from returning in the future.

On the one hand, the political context of this ceremony would suggest that Ainu have accepted the basis of the CPA and the limited recognition of their cultural diversity in terms of the national interest. Interpreted in such a way, the ceremony could be regarded in terms of Morris-Suzuki's 'cosmetic multiculturalism' as an act performed in a tightly circumscribed, politicized space and palpable evidence of the loyalty of Ainu to the nation during their display of difference. On the other hand however, the symbolic and cultural power of the ceremony, especially in terms of its demarcation of the Center as a *cise* and therefore as a spiritual site of Ainu life and culture, exemplifies the idea of culture as a latent threat to its administration. The invocation of *kamuy* is a powerful event that highlights an irony of cultural promotion that as more Ainu become (re)acquainted with their culture so they learn more about the spiritual side of its practice, and therefore move beyond the idea of cultural promotion as an aesthetic value to recognize its inherent significance to their everyday life and ethnic identity as Ainu.

When reintroduced into Ainu life the transformative capabilities of *kamuy* should not be overlooked. The night before I left Tokyo for the last time at the end of a second return visit after fieldwork, I attended an *enkai* at which an elder of the Tokyo Ainu Association seated opposite me started to talk of his childhood in Hokkaidō. He described in simple yet moving detail how he remembered his father conducting a *kamuynomi* outside of the family *cise*, in which many Ainu families with relatively little means still lived up until the 1920s and even 1930s, not to offer prayers to the *kamuy*

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[16] Actually, the arrow was not dispatched into the roof itself but into a bundle of straw representative of a traditional *cise*.

however, but to tell them that they were no longer wanted and that it was time for them to return to *kamuy mosir* and never come back. In an era characterized by a strong and continuing push on the part of authorities to persuade Ainu in rural areas to become good Japanese citizens (see Howell [David L.] 2004), the sending-back of the *kamuy* from the family's world and into their own world was a highly charged and emotional act, symbolic of many Ainus' final renunciation of their ethnic identity at that time. The elder's memory, however, also puts into perspective just how significant the (re)invocation of *kamuy* into the contemporary lives of Ainu and the wider Ainu movement is, and how, in an indirect and circuitous way, it is being legislated for in the CPA.

When I have discussed in previous chapters how 'place' can be defined as the meeting up of particular social relations and processes and the new effects that these produce, one aspect of contemporary Ainu place-making that should not be overlooked is an emergent Ainu relationship with *kamuy*. Within the context of the Center, this relationship comes into contact with other politicized relations of Ainu life regarding Ainu self-organization and inter-group co-operation as well as processes that reflect upon the current social situation of a fluid and indeterminate Ainu population in the capital. The integration of a *seikatsukan* model into the establishment of the Center provides Ainu with a familiar frame of historical as well as social and political reference that the visiting public would not notice. At the same time, however, there is the major tension in the CPA between administration and culture which is evident in the space of the Center itself. Symbolic of this is the fact that opposite the bookshelves there is a rotating exhibit of Ainu *kaparimip* used to demonstrate the excellence and beauty of Ainu cultural design and practice. Whilst many Ainu are very proud of their work, when the *kaparimip* is placed in an air-conditioned cabinet and secured by padlocked glass windows the colours and condition of it never change. This museumization of Ainu culture is a striking example of how administration willingly promotes an image of Ainu culture as being in stasis. To refer back to Adorno's comments, it also touches on how easy it is for Ainu representatives to become complicit in the production of their own culture for administrative ends. In the Ainu worldview, everything, including clothing, was imbued with *kamuy*. The very design would incorporate symbols to ward off evil *kamuy* from

entering the *kaparimip* and the body underneath. And like a human, clothes would age, change in physical appearance as well as colour and eventually die.[17] Reattachment to this way of understanding the world could well be a result of the existence of the Center itself in the future. Ainu groups use the Center to hold their own meetings as well as craftwork workshops that strengthen and develop existing ties and solidarity between its members. Usage and negotiation of the design of the space for their own purposes forms the basis to their strategic appropriation of it. Parallel to the various flows of Ainu social relations and processes that intersect the space and thus create a 'place' for Ainu in the capital, its role in the development of an idea of culture as a way of life again for Ainu is one that promises to further bolster the self-identity of the urban movement and the campaign for equal rights and privileges.

[17] On many occasions when accompanying Ainu to a particular Ainu exhibit, remarks about the 'authenticity' of a *kaparimip* would derive from acknowledgement of its aged and haggard appearance.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Re-Mapping the City: *Icharpa* and the Significance of Ainu Ceremonial Practice in Tokyo

Rethinking History, Re-Mapping the City

As highlighted in Part One, a fundamental proposition forwarded in this thesis states that to rethink Indigenous history from the standpoint of Indigenous peoples resident in urban areas has profound implications for the geography, demography and cartography of Indigenous life. Furthermore, the representation of time and space implicit to histories that fix Indigenous existence to a particular location is, for all intents and purposes, an effect of power. Institutionalized (as opposed to Indigenous or 'strategic essentialist') forms of this power are usually conveyed within temporalized versions of history. This is the kind of history informed by models of Marxian progress and neo-liberal theories of development that affix the destiny of other peoples and places to a linear view of a pre-determined future. It is this kind of history which supposes a direct social and economic correlate between urban Indigenous migration and assimilation into the majority population.

When thinking of Indigenous history from the city however and, more generally, of urban Indigenous sociality as a viable, critical field of study for the social sciences, my position is that we must replace the temporal bias of neo-classical theory for a concerted interest in space. From a spatial perspective, history would be about the disclosure of *social* and therefore *spatial events*: the specific outcome of social human interaction created *by* and *in* space that assumes a multiplicity of social, ethnic, political and personal trajectories (cf. Massey 1999: 271; the idea that history could always have been different). This "open" approach to history undermines the general assumption frequently posited by officials and academicians alike that Indigenous identity can only ever be an(other) ethnic identity outside of traditional areas (as argued, for example, in Dirlik & Prazniak 2001: 9) by examining how Indigenous migrants and their families retain, negotiate and transform their identities in urban environments.

By focusing on the politics of place, this approach suggests how Indigenous peoples are capable of remapping cities and thus able to think of themselves as "implaced" (Casey 1993: 3-21) within modern versions of traditional geography. In Chapter 2, I highlighted how theoretical issues of urban Indigenous life draw attention to a need to rethink what was previously imagined as immutable and fixed as a social construction and subject to historical change. For Ainu in Tokyo, I contend, this reasoning extends to re-imagining the traditional northern referent of the Ainu "homeland" – known as *Ainu Mosir* in the Ainu language – to reflect the modern geography and social condition of Ainu life that now stretches across the entire Japanese archipelago. Of course, in saying this I am not proposing to conflate the term with its political usage in contemporary negotiations over Ainu land rights or access to traditional resources in Hokkaidō. Rather, I suggest its articulation to reflect the modern Ainu world and include Ainu 'communities' in major cities across the mainland that would represent an important step towards the recognition and acceptance of non-Hokkaidō Ainu as Ainu and therefore as Indigenous individuals to whom particular rights and services should be accorded.

In this chapter, I chart some of the ways that the Kantō region has started to be imagined or mapped by Ainu as *Ainu Mosir* through, for example, the performance of ceremonies. I discuss the importance attached to environmental characteristics of the traditional Ainu world in popular discourse, such as the availability of particular flora and fauna in Hokkaidō and the exclusive existence of related deities that are commonly regarded as distinguishing features of Ainu territory. Before I address this, however, I wish to introduce a brief ethnographic aside to highlight the fact that far from straightforward this is a rather delicate issue and needs to be regarded, therefore, as an exploratory and provisional thesis.

The Identity Politics of Traditional Ainu Geography

To stretch the geographical boundaries of *Ainu Mosir* south beyond the Tsugaru Strait to include the Kantō region is a deeply political project that has a lot more at stake than the act of reworking lines on an imagined map would perhaps imply. Indeed, I think it prudent to emphasize my use of "imagined" here as it is not exactly clear if one can

actually refer to *Ainu Mosir* in cartographic terms. As noted in Chapter 4, DeChicchis (1995: 104-105) has pointed out that the territorial referent of *Ainu Mosir* for Ainu has never been particularly clear, a matter indicative of Siddle's conclusion that by the 1970s the term had become integrated into the "vocabulary of Ainu struggle" as both the vague physical expression of a "national territory" tied to the ultra left-wing rally cry for an "Ainu Republic" and as an utopist reference to "a golden age in which Ainu lived independent and happy communal lives in harmony with nature until these were destroyed by subsequent invasion and colonization" (Siddle 1996: 176; also see Siddle 1997: 37-38). Nevertheless, its emergence in recent decades as one of the most emotive and widely recognized symbols of Indigenous Ainu nationalism has normalized its claim to social and political capital. Its articulation has helped mobilize the Ainu cause in the public domain and strengthened political and cultural assertions of an Indigenous identity in the international arena and associated campaigns for effective participation in Japanese society (Kawashima 2004). At a more grounded level, it has also become a prominent metaphor of ancestry, heritage and belonging for Ainu that continues to blend a sense of a romanticized past with the exigencies of current-day political realities.

Despite the clear significance *Ainu Mosir* maintains at varying levels for Ainu, I was increasingly eager during the middle stages of my fieldwork to extend the field of inquiry based on knowledge I had accumulated by that time and ask whether the Kantō region could be (or, unknown to me, was being) imagined by Ainu as an emergent space of *Ainu Mosir*. Considering the history and statistics detailing the geographic and demographic expansion of the Ainu population, I felt this to be a valid point of interest and investigation. At the very least, I thought, the idea of an international city like Tokyo being appropriated into the traditional geography of an Indigenous group represented a powerfully symbolic and compelling scenario for other urban Indigenous situations across Asia and elsewhere. The first real chance of raising this idea came at an *Ukoitak* (meaning 'talk together' in Ainu) event at the *Rera Cise* given by an Ainu elder and principal organizer of the Young Utari Society. Although I had met the elder briefly on previous occasions I had yet to build any particular social rapport with her due in part to the lack of opportunities to attend Young Utari Society events but I knew of her activities in promoting rights for Ainu in the capital region, especially around the Kawasaki area

where she lived. In this capacity I felt it represented a perfect opportunity. The question-answer format of the event prompting dialogue with the Ainu speaker also promised a 'safe' environment in which I could advance fieldwork inquiry and raise issues that I would perhaps feel hesitant to do in different circumstances.

It was a weekday evening during early summer and because of this the number of attendees had dropped to a handful. The elder was helped upstairs and into her seat by her husband. She had suffered a rather severe stroke some years before but nevertheless did her best to attend such functions and continue her activism. She talked in detail for approximately forty minutes about her life and move to Tokyo from Hokkaidō during the late 1950s and of the discrimination she had sought to escape from as a teenager. I was seated at the same table directly across from her which presented me with an unspoken obligation to ask the first question. Was it, I asked, appropriate to call Tokyo *Ainu Mosir* knowing the fact that Ainu lived there? No, she replied, and went on to explain how the term in the Ainu language only refers to Hokkaidō, Sakhalin and the four islands off of the east coast of Hokkaidō as well as the etymology of those place names from the Ainu language. A little frustrated at the response and perhaps wary of not having made myself clear, I immediately phrased another question in a slightly different way: 'in conversation then, are distinctions made between 'Hokkaidō Ainu' and 'non-Hokkaidō Ainu' at all'? She replied in rather neutral terms choosing to use 'Ainu living outside of Hokkaidō' (*Hokkaidō igai ni sunde iru Ainu*) to qualify my question and describe the situation of Ainu living all over Japan, finally referring me and everyone else to the report on issues facing non-Hokkaidō Ainu that had come from a symposium her group had organized in 2000.

In many respects, the subtle yet candid politics of the question harkens back to the politics of Ainu identity in the capital region raised in Chapter 5. To recap, an underlying yet palpable tension regarding self-identification exists amongst Ainu in Tokyo that stretches back to the early 1970s. The issue stems from the conventional use of 'Kantō resident Ainu' (*Kantō zaijyu Ainu*) as a group ethnonym vis-à-vis 'Kantō Ainu' – whereas the use of 'resident' in the former category assumes that Ainu come from elsewhere and only reside (to varying degrees of permanence) *in* the capital region, the latter asserts a more definite, ontological tone in Ainu being *of* Kantō and therefore *of* a

region in much the same way Ainu are identified regionally throughout Hokkaidō (Ohnuki-Tierney 1976). I elabourate on the obvious political implications of this distinction in Chapter 5 but it is the particular ontological condition of 'Kantō Ainu' that I want to pick up on here. This assumes after all a particular state of Being and a notion of "implacement" (Casey 1993) generally thought of by the majority of people as foreign to the Ainu or broader Indigenous experience of an urban environment. I have already talked about this subject with regard to generational divisions and of how future generations born and brought up in Tokyo may well regard themselves differently from their elders. Here, however, I want to move on to address some of the processes active today that hint at how Ainu are already beginning to imagine themselves as 'implaced' or 'territorialized' within an Ainu world in Tokyo. First, I shall deal with ecological and environmental relations before moving on to discuss the role of ceremonial practice in remapping and re-imagining the cityscape.

Re-Mapping Kantō

Ecological and Spiritual Relations: (Re)territorializing Ainu Identity

Towards the end of a return trip to Tokyo after completing the majority of my fieldwork, I was relieved to receive a much anticipated invitation from a Japanese potter who had been involved in the Ainu movement in Tokyo for over ten years. Since the late 1990s, he had developed particularly strong links with the Tokyo Ainu Association and it was in this capacity that he invited me to go on a tour with him and two Ainu members of the group up into the Okutama mountain range beyond Hachioji city to the west of the Kantō region. The motivation for the trip served to combine an element of recreation with education. On the one hand, it offered a welcome chance to escape the metropolis of Tokyo and venture into the rural forestscape of western Kantō. On the other hand, and more importantly however, it also provided the potter with an eagerly awaited opportunity to begin showing younger Ainu the varied ecology of the Kantō region and how, only a short trip by car from central Tokyo, one could find many of the herbs and plants traditionally used by Ainu.

We met at a train station and proceeded from there in two cars for about half an hour. On the way, the landscape quickly changed from rice fields into luscious, green

hills. The roads gradually narrowed and the trees started to interlace to form canopies overhead. Our first stop was at the edge of a village. The potter abruptly pulled off the side of the road in front of a dilapidated stone wall. He got out and directed us enthusiastically to examine the undergrowth where, to my surprise at least, we uncovered *kitopiro*. Following his lead we cut some and put them in a plastic bag, mindful at all times not to contravene Ainu custom by exhausting the supply that was growing there. We drove on to the next site, a small patch of land the other side of a babbling brook that we had to walk down to from the road in order to cross. There we spent a good twenty minutes making our way through an abundant source of *yomogi*. Our final destination and main goal for the day was a mountain access road that we parked at the bottom of and walked up. Along both sides of the road we eventually found *fuki* and more *kitopiro*. At the end of the day and on our way back to the train station, we stopped off at a small waterfall to cook the plants we had been able to collect and mixed them with instant ramen noodles.

Although at first the details of this trip may seem rather unremarkable, the significance of the journey discloses larger ideas about the world of Ainu in and around the Kantō region. It is related to the reterritorialization of Ainu life and how the possibility of re-establishing traditional relations to nature and to the Ainu lifeworld remaps the geography of the capital as a viable space for Ainu life and culture. In conversation with the potter later, it was his wish that Ainu in the capital would begin to rethink their urban life as an inevitably 'indoor' one and recognize the opportunities to connect to and learn about the natural environment of Ainu culture in the capital and perhaps, in the longer term, no longer look to Hokkaidō as the primary source of culture, language etc. but look to the resources already available in and around Tokyo.

To discuss the concept of 'reterritorialization' however is not to limit interest to the discovery and use of natural resources usually considered native to Hokkaidō. By recognizing that important ecological and environmental markers of Ainu life exist in the region, a more spiritual and reflective dimension can also emerge tying Ainu into the world of *kamuy*. In Ainu thought, after all, plants are also *kamuy* and thus are required to be addressed and treated in a respectful manner (Fujimura 1999). *Kamuy*, of course, is a wide-ranging category of reference for all non-human entities covering all im/material

objects on earth and thus incorporates the animal world in which highly regarded deities exist. With the exception of the Kingfisher Owl (*Kotan Koro Kamuy*), regarded as the guardian of the Ainu *kotan* or village (Ono 1999: 38),[1] the principal deities in traditional Ainu cosmology are all present in the Kantō region. For example, black bears are distributed throughout the Chichibu Tama Kai National Park and have been recorded as foraging as close as forty kilometers to the west of Shinjuku; salmon, courtesy of Japan's *Come Back Salmon Society* that first helped to reintroduce salmon back into the Toyohira River in Sapporo, now populate the Tamagawa River in Tokyo (Murdoch 1990: 104); in fact, even powerful deities that no longer live in Hokkaidō, like the wolf (*Horkew Kamuy*) for example, were present on the mainland after their disappearance in the north (Gibson 1998, McIntyre 1996, Walker 2001b, 2005).[2]

To raise the issue of *kamuy* in relation to the reterritorialization of Ainu identity in the capital therefore, seeks to move the reference point for discussion beyond generalized ideas of spatial resistance to dominant representations of Indigenous culture (Rose 1993), to instead address emergent forms of Ainu implacement vis-à-vis *kamuy* in the capital and of what this means for a broader sense of Ainu rootedness or belonging in the region in the future. As I have noted previously in the discussion of Ui's (2001) book *Ainu tokidoki Nihonjin* (Ainu, but sometimes Japanese), tying a spiritual dimension of Ainu ancestry to an individual life otherwise considered an "ordinary" Japanese existence is neither a tenuous claim nor a contradiction in terms. Whilst distancing myself from his sweeping generalizations, I concur in spirit with Fujimura Hisakazu's view when he writes: "The Ainu people, who today live a modern life, still value spiritual aspects of their religion even if they have been converted to various Japanese or Western ideologies. Through special occasions such as funerals, memorial services, exorcisms, festivals of gods, and oracles delivered via shamans, the Ainu feel that their traditional ideas and

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[1] I have also heard this type of owl referred to as the Long-eared Owl, Eagle Owl or Fish Owl in English but knowing of Ono-sensei's wide knowledge of the Hokkaidō environment I choose to follow his usage of Kingfisher Owl here.

[2] In the Hidaka and Tokachi regions an origin myth involving a white wolf has been widely recorded. Brett Walker has integrated this fact into historical research concerning the disappearance of the wolf in Japan during the nineteenth century. He demonstrates how the act of hunting wolves by Ainu was in effect an act of patricide and therefore an interesting example of nationalist ideology as it was viewed by government officials as "a sign of the Ainu's commitment to their new ancestral god in the context of the later Japanese family-state" (Walker 2001b: 12).

customs are still alive in them and that their identity lies in Ainu culture" (1999: 26). The attention Fujimura places here on ceremonial forms for understanding Ainu culture and thus Ainu identity echoes the timeless maxim of the Scottish doctor Neil Gordon Munro that "[i]t is impossible to describe any aspect of Ainu life without reference to ritual practices" (Munro 1963: 7). Although in modern times this edict may clash with palpable evidence that the majority of the Ainu population has little to no understanding of their own culture, it nevertheless suggests a suitable starting point for my broader inquiry, namely the role of *kamuy* in the emergence of a new form of Ainu identity forged in and through the contemporary practice of Ainu ceremonies in the capital region. Ceremonies, after all, are one of the principal ways Ainu communicate directly with *kamuy* and, of particular interest to us here, one of the main cultural forms that physically locate Ainu in relation to *kamuy* at a particular moment in time. As a variety of Ainu ceremonies are conducted in the capital every year, I refer to several in a bid to derive multiple perspectives from a broad field of meaning.

Creating Space: Ceremonial Practice and New Geographies of Ainu Identity

As I will come to discuss in more detail with regard the architecture of the *Rera Cise* in the following chapter, the performance and practice of ceremonies by Ainu in the Kantō region is predicated on the production of space in the urban environment. This kind of 'social action', if I might call it that, provides new, unfamiliar sites for traditional practice that necessarily transform its experience. As Kathi Wilson and Evelyn Peters (2005) note in their recent study of place-making amongst urban Anishinabek in cities in Ontario (Canada), the establishment of ceremonial practice in new urban spaces "involves the production of new cultural forms that adapt traditional practices to the opportunities and constraints of a new environment" (Wilson & Peters 2005: 405). From such a perspective, it becomes very difficult to assume that traditional skills or practices are directly transferable from home communities to the city or, in this case, from Hokkaidō to Tokyo. The different social context in which such activities are undertaken ensure that space is employed differently than it is 'at home' and that relations with the environment and thus with each other are also changed (cf. Wilson & Peters 2005: 405).

One critical example of this point emerged just as I left the field. I was told that an Ainu elder from the Tokyo Ainu Association, affectionately referred to as *ekasi* throughout the Ainu community (a respectful term in Ainu for 'grandfather' or 'old man'), had been invited to perform a *kamuy nomi* (prayer to the deities) at an environmental festival near Hachioji. As with any Ainu ceremony, the most vital element is fire. In order for a ceremony to be performed successfully, it is necessary for the principal elder to start by addressing *ape-fuchi-kamuy* (the deity of fire) and informing her of his intentions. By doing this, he wishes to gain her co-operation as an intermediary between the human world (*Ainu mosir*) and the world of deities (*kamuy mosir*) (Ohnuki-Tierney 1980: 208, Utagawa 1992: 261). The first line spoken in Ainu by an Ainu elder at a ceremony therefore involves a kind of personal introduction to *ape-fuchi-kamuy* noting, most importantly, where he is from. For reasons of regional variation within Ainu society noted throughout this thesis, location acts as a fundamental signifier of Ainu identity (Ohnuki-Tierney 1976). With regard to ceremonial practice, pronouncement of one's relationship to a specific *kotan* or region plays a particular role as it immediately indicates to *ape-fuchi-kamuy* what deities one may wish to communicate with. Historically, the hierarchy of deities in Ainu settlements across Hokkaidō differed according to what animals resided in that area. In northeastern Hokkaidō, for example, Ainu practiced fox-sending ceremonies (*cironnup*) that involved a ritual unknown to Ainu in southeastern parts. Similarly, for Ainu from the south (in and around Shiraoi) the Kingfisher Owl (*kotan-kor-kamuy*), widely regarded as the most prestigious deity in the majority of Hokkaidō Ainu communities, was replaced with the bear as the highest-ranking deity due to the fact that few owls were found there (Akino 1999: 252). With this notion of traditional geography in mind, it is easy to understand how for Ainu in Tokyo location would represent a principal constraint to traditional practice. To my knowledge, Ainu in the capital usually began ceremonies by referring to themselves as 'Ainu from ...' and proceeded by inserting the name of their familial/ancestral connection in Hokkaidō. At the above mentioned *kamuy nomi* however, the *ekasi* wanted to do things differently.

For the first time, the elder voiced his intent to formulate his opening address in Ainu as an 'Ainu from Tokyo *kotan*' and call upon *kamuy* in the Tokyo region for

support and for this he had requested the help of the potter mentioned above with the Ainu language. This represented a particularly courageous step on the part of the elder. First, it would involve the use of unfamiliar and perhaps rather challenging language – as for many elders without fluency or any particular grounding in the language itself, the majority of ceremonial formalities in Ainu were often learned through repetition. Secondly, and an issue of more pressing concern, was the underlying fear or hesitancy regarding the absence of deities in Tokyo. The resonance of this anxiety extended far beyond the cultural superficialities of inadequate performance. It signified potential misgivings of offending *kamuy* and therefore disruption of the balance that existed between the two worlds. On the couple of occasions that I attended preparatory meetings for ceremonial events in the capital, I was always left with the deep-seated impression of a genuine aspiration on the part of Ainu to conduct ceremonies 'properly'. By this I mean whilst Ainu were obviously aware of the need to overcome the negative impact history had had on cultural transmission, it was important to recover culture in such a way as to reconnect appropriately and properly with the ways of their forebears and be careful not to offend or insult *kamuy* with hasty although well-intentioned actions. Indeed, to ensure the authenticity of important events, elders from Hokkaidō would often be invited down to teach, help and make sure that the formalities were conducted correctly. This would strengthen routes of social exchange between the capital and Hokkaidō and further develop networks of lived relationships.

The cultural as well as social politics of this example highlight the broader questions of implacement at stake when discussing the idea of an emergent Kantō Ainu identity and population. It suggests possible ways in which the geographical region itself can be imagined as a place for Ainu life yet how, at the same time, it also generates anxiety and tension over the historical credibility and cultural feasibility of such an initiative. In line with most Indigenous situations elsewhere in the world, an ethnocentric angst regarding the viability of an Ainu identity in urban areas and concern over already frail claims to cultural authenticity 'at home' underscores any discussion of Ainu mobility away from ancestral places.[3]

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[3] Adam Kuper (2003) has recently published a polemical piece challenging the premise upon which special claims to Indigenousness are founded.

Perhaps, however, the merit of such tension would not matter as much if we were to adopt the framework of the Kwara'ae scholar, David Welchman Gegeo (2001: 495) and re-examine what it means when an Indigenous person leaves (or is born/brought up outside) their home-place by shifting the focus of discussion away from the "politics of identity" to the "nature of Indigeneity". For me, the subtleties of this shift serve to downplay the conceptual side of Indigenous mobility and open up interest in the grounded actions of everyday life, of how Indigenous people actually experience the urban environment and what strategies they employ to that end. Alongside the social and political legitimacy of public and organized forms of Ainu cultural performance that this perspective affords, it also draws attention to the more impromptu or informal expressions of ceremonial practice in Tokyo and to the nature of their significance.

The re-mapping of the Kantō region is evident in a variety of unorganized acts, informal practices and private expressions. Once, for example, I was present at a get-together at a community center in Shin-Yokohama held for an Indigenous friend and long-time associate of Ainu in Tokyo visiting from an Anishinabe community in New York state. He had chosen that night to present an attending Ainu elder with a bear paw so that it could be taken to Hokkaidō that summer to be used as part of the Koshamain festival held by Ainu in early July – incidentally, I might add, a ceremonial event initiated in the early 1990s by Ainu and their supporters from Tokyo. The paw was passed around a circle of about ten people in reverential silence until it reached the elder who gestured to his friend an expression of gratitude in the traditional Ainu manner by raising and lowering his hands in a circular motion several times towards his face with the paw still in his hands. Then, he suddenly got up and started to rummage through his bag at the back of the room and pulled out two chopsticks which he proceeded to tie together to use as an *ikupasuy* ('prayer' or 'libation' stick), lit a cigar for fire which he put on an upturned pot lid in front of him, established proper spatial order by positioning a woman to the right side of him to pour sake into his cup (a role known as *iomarekuru* in Ainu) as well as one man to the left and another opposite, and proceeded to initiate a *kamuy nomi* for the spirit of the bear's foot. Although technically, and I had this confirmed at a later time, the beliefs of Ainu culture would dictate that the spirit of the bear had long left the foot, the elder still felt it an appropriate act to perform albeit in a

rather jovial way at times interspersing a few choice words in Japanese with his Ainu prayer.

This kind of spontaneous gesture of goodwill was a well-recognized characteristic of the elder and on more than one occasion I had heard Ainu refer to this as evidence of *Ainu puri* meaning 'Ainu ways', a term that has become increasingly politicized in its usage within Ainu society to distinguish 'real Ainu' from others. Nevertheless, it highlighted for me the mobility or 'portability' of ceremonial engagement and thus what Gegeo (2001) refers to in a slightly different but complementary way as the "portability of place". It underlines at the same time the ability of Ainu to negotiate different social contexts and adapt to the surrounding environment without sacrificing the fundamental connection to their culture. This connection it must be said is not only considered to be able to traverse space but also time. The awakening of innate Ainu traits in Ainu participants when engaged in ceremonial events, for example, was an accepted if unexpected fact by Ainu and interpreted by notable elders and supporters as credible evidence of the perseverance of particular Ainu cultural and spiritual characteristics through time.[4] One of the (above) elder's daughters, who had neglected her Ainu ancestry until she was into her forties, provided a case in point. The first Ainu event she became involved in was a ceremony held at her father's *Poro Cise* ('large house') in the mountains of Yamanashi prefecture.[5] This event was organized to celebrate the publication of the elder's biography authored by a close friend of his who had passed away just months before its release. She helped in organizing the event along with her sister who was also participating in an Ainu activity for the first time. During the ceremony and related activities that stretched long in to the night, the daughter later explained how she had been acutely aware of a strong spiritual presence in the room that she thought to be the late author. The sincerity of her extrasensory perception was backed up by photographs taken at the event in which strange orblike shapes appear above the heads of various people (myself included) similar in form and shape to those described by parapsychologists as the initial stages of a spiritual manifestation. Her

[4] This point is related in many ways to the advice of 'seeing if you feel you fit in' (mentioned in the next chapter) given by an elder in Tokyo to a young participant at an event searching for his (possible) Ainu roots.

[5] The elder had built his own traditional *cise* by himself in the mountains of Yamanashi prefecture. It remains the only "traditional" *cise* in the Kantō region.

experience and subsequent episodes of psychic awareness were interpreted by the inner circle of the group as definitive echoes of her Ainu ancestry. This suggested continuity of a traditional aspect of Hokkaidō Ainu culture and social structure where, for example, shamans were reportedly always women and possessed varying abilities related to midwifery (*ikoinkar*), clairvoyance (*ue-inkar*) and medium-ship (*tusu*) (Honda 2000: 63-82, Irimoto 1997, Ohnuki-Tierney 1980: 212).[6]

At many different levels, therefore, ceremonial practice when used as an analytical tool indicates how Ainu adapt to the urban environment and begin to re-map the region spatially as an Ainu place through various formal and informal acts, forging connections and relationships that gradually diffuse into the normality of lived experience. There is one further dimension to such cartography however that I wish to pick up on concerning time and the development of historical attachments to the capital that holds particular significance for the future of urban Ainu society.

Historicizing Embodiment: A New Frame of Geographical Reference

A principal reflection of the relationship Indigenous peoples have developed and maintained with the land and their environment through time is in the names given to certain sites and places. With the onset of the colonial era however, and the replacement or conversion of Indigenous placenames by colonialist authorities, toponymic projects were enthusiastically pursued to rupture those inherent connections and linkages between Indigenous peoples and the land (Nash 1999: 460). In post-colonial responses to such legacies, a large number of Indigenous campaigns aimed at restoring 'original' placenames have emerged and highlighted the historical politics and struggles over issues of power, location, identity and culture related to place (Nash 1999). Indeed in today's political climate, placenames have taken on a prominent role in issues of Indigenous rights to land and resources. With regard to Hokkaidō, it is widely acknowledged that the majority of placenames are derived either directly or indirectly from the Ainu language and in the last few years a campaign organized by Hokkaidō University professor, Ono

[6] Ohnuki-Tierney (1980) notes however that shamans in Sakhalin Ainu culture were regarded as more powerful and often more spiritually evolved than those in Hokkaidō and could either have been men or women. Although whether it was actually the case that only women were shamans in Hokkaidō is difficult to say. Batchelor (1927: 275-285) for example provides an account of a male shaman he met close to Sapporo.

Yugo, in cooperation with Ainu groups, to put the original Ainu name on all signposts has been mounted.

The distribution of Ainu placenames across the Japanese archipelago demonstrates that Ainu-speaking people inhabited those particular areas from early times (Hokkaidō-ritsu Ainu Minzoku Bunka Kenkyū Sentaa 2004: 3). In the Tōhoku region for example, a large number of placenames with the suffix of '– nai' (from the Ainu 'nay' meaning stream, river or valley) are present (Tanaka 1997).[7] Conjecture is also commonly heard about placenames across Honshū and in the capital region as well. Mount Fuji, the archetypal symbol of the Japanese nation, is often referred to as coming from the Ainu word *fuchi* meaning grandmother which, of course, is found in *ape-fuchi-kamuy* meaning the Deity of Fire. Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), the English philologist and professor of Japanese at Tokyo Imperial University at the beginning of the twentieth century, wrote that the name for Tone river which runs close to Tokyo derives from the Ainu word *tanne* meaning 'long' (Iwatake 2000: 216).[8] Chamberlain's supposition provided evidence for his wider theory that the Ainu once lived all over the Japanese archipelago and were gradually pushed further north by the Japanese who entered the islands from the south and west. The origins of this idea had been controversial when first forwarded some years earlier by Edward S. Morse, the father of modern archaeology and anthropology in Japan, during his discovery and excavations of the Ōmori shell mounds to the west of modern-day Tokyo in 1877. From the unearthing of arrowheads, pottery fragments and human and animal bones at the site, Morse concluded that a pre-Japanese race had once populated Japan and suggested that they had been related to Ainu. Stefan Tanaka (2004: 42) argues that such a theory was the first to advance a "temporal framework of modernity" of the Japanese nation. Morse's evocation of "deep time" as Tanaka terms it, was in direct conflict with the understanding of Japan as a creation of the gods as described in the eighth century classics *Nihon Shoki* and *Kojiki*. Conservative critics were quick to react to the implications of Morse's theory

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[7] Other common placenames derived from Ainu include in them 'betsu' (from the Ainu -pet) meaning river, or 'shiri' meaning cape.

[8] I also heard Ainu talk about the names of places like Shibuya and Ueno in central Tokyo as also possibly derived from Ainu.

that came to be regarded as stating that the earliest inhabitants of Japan had been primitive barbarians.[9] One respondent wrote:

"Morse says that the Ōmori people were earlier inhabitants without any connection to the Japanese; but if so, why were such people (*minzoku*) living in the Tokyo vicinity? This is unbearable. From the standpoint of one's strong faith in the *kokutai* (national body), this field called archaeology is exceedingly dangerous (*yabai*)."

(Tozawa 1977: 100 quoted in Tanaka 2004: 44)

Even though this outcry was from over a century ago, of particular note here is the notion of pollution cited by the author as a point of anxiety and concern which continues at some level to inform the general opinion of Indigenous peoples in cities and urban areas even today. It also hints at again the stakes, both conceptual and political, when discussing the ancestral linkages between metropolitan geography and Indigenous identity. Although in current-day Tokyo the symbolic resonance between (possible) Jōmon sites and the Ainu movement has never featured as a particularly strong point of interest or activism (therefore an area for future research), a parallel form of ancestral or historical implacement has emerged in the last few years that is starting to historicize Ainu residence in the capital by forging ancestral relations with Ainu who had lived and died in Tokyo in the past and, in doing so, re-mapping the cityscape with a new framework of social and geographical reference.

Since August 2003, an annual *icharpa* or 'ancestral worship' ceremony has been held by the Ainu Association of Wind at a particular site located beneath Tokyo Tower in Shiba Park next to Zōzōji temple in central Tokyo. In the first instance, the principal rationale of the *icharpa* (its proper name, for the variation performed, being *shinrit mosir koicharpa* meaning 'memorial for the world of ancestors' [Hasegawa 2003: 11]) is to act as a commemoration for four Ainu who passed away while attending a colonial agricultural school in Tokyo between 1872 and 1874 (Kanō 2003). The location of the

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[9] Oguma (1995) argues that theories about the peopling of Japan derive mainly from two opposing ideas: one, a "mixed nation" *(kongō minzoku)* theory citing the presence of a pre-Japanese population (possibly Ainu) who were eventually conquered; and second, a nationalist belief that the nation has always existed and therefore remains ethnically homogeneous.

icharpa is integral to the ceremony as it is the site where the event organizers believe the school once stood. This fundamental piece of information in and of itself took several years of research between Ainu, supporters and academics to uncover, as very little information remained about the geographical location of the school in relation to the modern day cityscape of Tokyo. Indeed preparations for the *icharpa* had begun in earnest four years previous in 1999 although the idea of holding the ceremony had first been raised by the chief coordinator Hasegawa Osamu as early as 1995. In accordance with the discussion above regarding the intention of Kantō resident Ainu to perform ceremonies "correctly" and learn "proper" ceremonial practice from Hokkaidō elders, the Chitose Ainu elder Nomoto Hisaka had been involved with the preparations for most of the four years and, on the day of the event, traveled down to Tokyo to direct the practice and order of ceremonial proceedings. This not only assured that the event was regarded as an authentic ceremonial occasion but also provided Ainu with the opportunity to learn traditional practice as well as take part in the making of *inaw* (shaved fetishes used as offerings) and other elements such as *sake* needed for the ceremony.[10]

The format of the *icharpa* is very interesting as it integrates into its practice a *kamuynomi* that requires the male participants to offer *sake* with an *ikupasuy* to particular deities represented by *inaw* laid out in a *nusa* (altar) (Yamada 2000). In Hokkaidō, the typical number of deities represented in a *nusa* would be approximately thirteen. However, numbers depend upon local customs. Irimoto (2004: 29), for example, notes that Ainu offer prayers to twenty-five deities in the annual Marimo festival held in Akan.[11] At the first *icharpa* in Tokyo, however, only five deities were identified. At an *Ukoitak* event put on by the *Rera Cise* a couple of months after the ceremony, Hasegawa presented an overview of the *icharpa* at which I was able to ask about the structure of the ceremony and its method of performance. Hasegawa described in some detail how the organizers had thought long and hard about the nature of the event and especially the make-up of the *nusa*. In the end, with advice from the elder Nomoto, they had agreed on

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[10] Irimoto (2004) also notes this dynamic in ceremonial preparations at the Marimo Festival held in the Ainu tourist village of Akan, eastern Hokkaidō.

[11] For a detailed study of ceremonial practice amongst Saru Ainu including the range and description of *kamuy* prayed to there, see Kubodera (1952). Although dated, this paper still provides important information regarding ceremonial form and was one of several studies that Ainu in Tokyo used to study up on.

the veneration of five deities. One was *kotan kor kamuy* (protector of the '*kotan*') encompassing the entire Kantō region. The second was *wakka us kamuy* (deity of water) decided upon because it is a basic necessity of life without which we die.[12] The third was *nupuri kamuy* (deity of mountains). This refers to *Atagoyama* (Mt. Atago) located to the west of Tokyo. Although today it is better known as the site of the Atago Shinto shrine, its environment is that of a coastal shrub forest and is rich in a variety of natural and agricultural resources including a number of wild plants and endangered species like the raccoon dog and wild rabbit. Jōmon era artifacts found there indicate the use and habitation of the area dates to 5000 years ago. The organizers thought, therefore, that for Ainu at the colonial school at the time it probably represented a symbol of home and a nostalgic haven in the middle of a burgeoning metropolis. The fourth deity was *rera cise kamuy* (the deity of the *Rera Cise*), to whom prayers are offered for the continuation of the restaurant and its purpose. The fifth, *sir kor kamuy* (deity of the earth) is like *wakka us kamuy*, in representing a fundamental element of life.

The interplay between following the traditional features of a *nusa* found in Hokkaidō – especially in its formalized acknowledgement of a dominant deity along with mountain and water deities – and its adaptation to a non-Hokkaidō, urban environment is particularly interesting here. For many reasons, the creation of a Tokyo *nusa* could not have forged ahead with offerings to "new" *kamuy* without some recourse to ceremonial practice in Hokkaidō. In line with Hornborg's writings on contemporary Mi'kmaq ceremonies in eastern Canada today, to appropriate ritual acts from the 'homeland' serves as "a way to legitimize and authorize ... new traditions that are more spontaneously invented" (Hornborg 2003: 129). However, as Hasegawa was to also mention in his response to my question regarding the structure and performance of the event, although ceremonial forms from Hokkaidō would be followed in the future, this does not exclude the possibility of a Tokyo form of ceremonial practice being developed at a later date. Nevertheless, although the format of the ceremony may well have been embedded within traditional practice, the identification of Atagoyama as well as the *Rera Cise* as *kamuy* suggests how its meaning and significance was very much anchored in the social and

[12] Usually, *wakka us kamuy* is divided into notable features of water such as a river or lake for example. There was no obvious attachment to water for Ainu at the colonial school therefore its signifier was left general.

political situation of Ainu in Tokyo. In an article in the *Ureshipa Charanke* newsletter published by the *Senjyūminzoku to tomo ni jinken · kyosei · mirai o kangaeru kai* (Group for the Consideration of Human Rights, Co-operation and the Future with Indigenous Peoples), Hasegawa (2003: 11) laid out the broader implications of the ceremony articulated around four main objectives:

1) To perform an *icharpa* for those Ainu who died at the colonial school; but, at the same time, perform a memorial for *all* Ainu who had left *Ainu Mosir* and died without returning (*Ainu mosir o hanare, kaerezu shinda Ainuutari no koto mo kuyō o suru*).
2) Disseminate the history about the colonial school not only in Tokyo but to as many people as possible.
3) Provide an opportunity for the ongoing transmission of traditional culture as well as the chance to learn about the practice of the *kamuy-nomi*.
4) Promote co-operation on research activities concerning the colonial school with researchers.

Notwithstanding the cultural import of the last three points, the first point is significant for my discussion. By extending the focus of the *icharpa* to include all Ainu who have died out outside of Hokkaidō, highlighted the multiple situations of Ainu in Tokyo and the socio-political contexts of poverty, homelessness and day-labour that define the urban experience for many Ainu without formal education, practical qualifications or financial security. In doing so, its message mirrored the temporal and spatial functions of the ceremony by integrating an historical dimension to the modern geography of Ainu life and drawing upon a continuity of experience through time that has been largely overlooked in contemporary Ainu history and society. This has particular political significance in that alongside various TV camera crews and journalists, a representative from the Human Rights Office of the Metropolitan government also attended the ceremony at the invitation of the Ainu Association of Wind in an ongoing attempt to use the *Rera Cise* as a window for discussion over the attribution of rights and support to Ainu from the government.

The historicization of Ainu life in the capital, therefore, is not so much oriented around an image of a 'community', but instead is grounded in the experiences of Ainu. Although the ceremonial experiences expressed here are in terms of 'death' and 'separation' from the homeland, they nevertheless act as a motif of the wider notion of a collective Ainu experience and of related issues of identity and culture that tie into that. It is not only the formal properties of the ceremonies themselves that re-map the city but also, and perhaps more importantly, the context within which ceremonial practice is articulated and how this re-situates Ainu in relation to the surrounding environment as well as to themselves and others.

The *Rera Cise*: Indigenous Foodways and the Progressive Politics of Place

Thus far, I have looked at the space of the Ainu Culture Exchange Center and, through the prism of ceremonial practice, at the Kantō region as 'places' of Ainu interaction and identity. In this chapter, I turn critical attention to a third and final 'place' of Ainu sociality active in the capital region – the *Rera Cise*.

Locating the *Cise*

If you take a rapid train heading west on the JR Chuo (orange) line from Tokyo Station and disembark at the fifth stop, you arrive at Nakano. Notorious in previous times for having been the site of the Japanese Imperial Army's secret intelligence branch during wartime (1938-1945; see Mercado 2002), today it is one of the most vibrant and cosmopolitan centres in Metropolitan Tokyo. Located between Shinjuku to the east and the large residential district of Suginami to the west, Nakano is the fourteenth largest ward in Tokyo occupying a total area of 15.59 km². At the time of the 2005 census, its reported population was 309,047 (with a population density of 19,823 people per km²) that incorporated a foreign resident population of 15,871 or a little over 5%. Evidence of such an overwhelming Japanese majority, however, does not detract from the character of Nakano as a diverse social space. For those acquainted with the ward, the distinct experience of the city lends itself towards a vibrant, socially eclectic and relaxed atmosphere. Indeed, one need only walk into Nakano library situated in *Sun Puraza* – a modern skyscraper towering above the north side of the station – to immediately come across a wall of newspapers incorporating one from each of the country's forty-seven prefectures that reflect the regional differences intersecting the local 'Japanese' population.

Figure 8.3: The *Rera Cise* shop sign carved by the Kantō resident Ainu artist Hoshino Takumi

Nakano has historical precedence as a site of Ainu activity in Tokyo and continues to operate as an important locale within Ainu society. In 1973 the meetings of the Tokyo Utari Association were first held there. Today, the ward's ethnic character hosts a modern Ainu *cise* (house). The *Rera Cise*, literally meaning 'House of Wind' in the Ainu language, is a restaurant serving Ainu cuisine that is run and managed by Ainu and is the only establishment of its kind outside of Hokkaidō. Opened in May 1994, it was initially located in a basement suite opposite Waseda University (Nishi-Waseda campus) but moved in December 2000 to its own three-storey property in Nakano. From a historical perspective, it holds particular significance as one of only a few Ainu restaurants to have existed at all and today can probably be regarded as the most (culturally and commercially) successful Ainu culinary enterprise anywhere in Japan. That the restaurant has been able to remain open for over ten years is in itself a significant feat. Notwithstanding contemporary interest around the world in organic foods that has drawn increasing attention to the traditional agronomy and diet of Indigenous peoples,[1] a broad understanding and appreciation for 'Ainu food' in Japan has never been particularly prominent.[2]

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[1] Interest in "Indigenous food" has grown on the back of issues such as food safety, access, quality and renewed concern over what Carlo Petrini, the Italian journalist and founder of the Slow Food movement, calls "the culture of food". For an insightful ethnographic study of the Slow Food movement, see Leitch (2003).

[2] In part, this represents an enduring effect of the role of food in the construction of identity inherent to the ideology that underwrote the history of the colonization of Hokkaidō. As noted in Chapter 4, during Meiji attempts to "develop" the northern frontier, the Colonization Commission went to great lengths to disrupt the fundamental social structure of Ainu life. A principal strategy had focused on undermining the inherent relationship between food and culture at the heart of Ainu society. Of course, although the ambitions of

Beyond its entrepreneurship, the *Rera Cise* is important for a number of reasons. First and foremost, it now represents the longest running Ainu place in the capital region established by Ainu for Ainu (as well as the wider public) and operates as a key site of social, cultural and political activism. Secondly, its function reflects the wider complexities of Ainu culture, identity and collectivity in the region by disrupting any simplistic understanding of who Ainu are. Its operation as both a public restaurant and a private space characterizes the broader negotiation by individuals between Japanese and Ainu identities. This is underpinned, however, by a more fundamental connection to culture through traditional Ainu food that raises important issues about the role of memory in urban Ainu life. The subject of food also relates to perhaps the most overarching point of all, namely how the restaurant reworks normalized assumptions of the relationship between Ainu collectivity and culture through traditional food from an *urban* perspective. This raises issues of diaspora, identity and the history of the restaurant's foundation based on Ainu relations with food centred *in* Tokyo. It demonstrates how food is not limited to the geography of traditional food systems but instead is able to "stretch" beyond such boundaries and continue to actuate meaning, tradition and social change in translocal settings.[3] Analysis of the restaurant, therefore, allows us to gauge the role of food in the establishment and development of interrelations among Ainu (and between Ainu and non-Ainu) and draw further attention to the field of social dynamics that delineate the *Rera Cise* as a 'place' of Ainu life and social interaction in Tokyo.

The *Rera Cise*, Ainu Food and the Diasporic Politics of Urban Indigenous Identity

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assimilationist policy extended beyond food and food practices, forbidding Ainu access to traditional sources of physical and cultural survival enabled authorities to inflict a definitive blow to the sustainability of Ainu society; but even legislative reform could not entirely dissolve the emotional attachment Ainu had developed with food traditions over time. For analysis of the effects of assimilationist policy, Kayano Shiro (1998) provides a detailed survey of nineteenth century fishing legislation and its effect on Ainu communities.

[3] Although it is pertinent that the foods of traditional Ainu societies differed markedly from those consumed on the Japanese mainland, their articulation as a stringent marker of ethnic differentiation should not overlook fundamental interconnections that traversed historicized boundaries of cultural groupism and political economy. Rice and salt, for example, a staple of mainland Japanese culture and life, became an integral part of Ainu society after trade links were established with the Japanese. Indeed, offerings made from rice such as *shito* (rice dumplings) formed an integral part of traditional spirit-sending ceremonies like the *iyomante* and provide further evidence of the interrelated condition of Ainu ethnogenesis raised in Chapter 4.

The name '*Rera Cise*' elucidates two main principles underlying its establishment: first of all, to be an Ainu home (a *cise*) from which Ainu culture can travel freely as the wind (*rera*) to broaden understanding and consciousness about Ainu and, secondly, for it to be a 'place' of gathering, safety and familiarity for Ainu and, to a certain degree for all people, for whom the wind is a metaphor of liberation from hardship and discrimination (Rera no Kai 1997). These principles suggest the extent to which the restaurant, from the time of its inception, was imagined as a "home" and an intimate space energized by and through the preparation, distribution and consumption of traditional foods. In spite of changes to Ainu society over the centuries that have completely undermined its traditional structure, the reappearance of food as the catalyst for the building of a new *Cise* in an urban metropolis in the late twentieth century reconnects to, at the same time as it refigures, a customary understanding of traditional Ainu life as having been "equivalent to eating" (Keira 1995: 16). For Ainu elders, perhaps the last generation to have experienced its significance, this statement is meaningful in a double sense. First, it is a reference to the fact that food once constituted the prism through which Ainu were able to situate themselves in relation to each other and to animals and thus to *kamuy* who inhabited the natural world.[4] This highlighted the structure of traditional gender roles which mirrored the actions of *kamuy* in Ainu myths (Kubodera 1977, Yamada 1998).[5] Secondly, it relates to the seasonality of Ainu life and the types of activity and knowledge to do with food that ensured physical survival through the harsh winters and social continuity over time. During the winter time (late Fall to Spring), for example, men would hunt bear, deer, seals and other game such as rabbit, fox and white-tailed sea eagles (*ojiru washi*) dependent upon the location of their village's *iwor* or hunting territory.[6] As the winter snow melted, women would start to move up into the mountains

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[4] As Claude Fischler (1988: 286) writes: "Cookery helps to give food and its eaters a place in the world, a meaning. The order it constructs and applies is inseparable from the order of the world which culture as a whole constructs".

[5] As Takako Yamada in her study of Ainu myth puts it, Ainu men as with male deities "go hunting and fishing, build good houses, cut down big trees to make dugout boats, and go trading abroad in their boats"; whereas female deities and women, "do all kinds of housework, such as preparing food and wine, fetching water and firewood, weaving mats, doing all kinds of needlework, and collecting edible plants" (Yamada 1998: 239).

[6] Swordfish and tuna as well as dolphins and whales would also be hunted at sea in oceangoing boats called *itaomachip* (Ohtsuka 1999: 374-376).

during the day to pick wild plants.[7] Of course, it was not only plants and meat that Ainu harvested but also, and perhaps most importantly, fish. In the summer, whilst women were occupied in the mountains and fields, men would move to individually or communally owned fishing grounds to fish trout and then salmon in the Fall. The salmon catch was especially important as it represented a principal source of both physical and cultural sustenance.[8] In the Ainu language, salmon is referred to as *kamuy cep* meaning "divine fish" or *shipe* a derivative of *shi-e-pe* meaning "the real thing we eat" (Kayano 1998a: 23). As with many Northwest Coast peoples, Ainu believed salmon to be an important deity and therefore conducted various ceremonies and rituals in its name (Berman 2000, Kono & Fitzhugh 1999: 119, Roche & McHutchison 1998, Schreiber 2002).[9] The most significant of these and one that has since been revitalized is called *ashiri chep nomi* conducted at the start of the season to welcome the first returning fish of the year and send it back to the gods.[10]

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[7] Those collected would include *kitopiro* a kind of wild garlic grass, *fuki* (lagwort), *yomogi* (wormwood), *hascappu* (woodbine), *kuri* (chestnuts) and *ubayuri* or *turep* a lily root from which Ainu derived starch and made a dumpling called *onturep* (Keira 1995: 16; see Ainu Minzoku Hakubutsukan 1994: 8). For a detailed survey of Ainu plants see Fukuoka (2000). Women (in southern Hokkaidō) also engaged in a limited form of agriculture and cultivated a range of cereals including barley, wheat, (barnyard and foxtail) millet as well as vegetables including leek, potatoes and tomato (Kohara 1999: 204; also see Crawford & Yoshizaki 1987). Despite the fact that plants contributed greatly to the Ainu diet and culture, their historical significance has often been overlooked in deference to the dominant image of the Ainu as a hunting and meat-eating population (Kohara 1999: 202). This is regrettable as the Ainu relationship to plants highlights the range of preservation techniques that Ainu women practiced in order to feed the community through the winters and stave off a possible famine if the seasonal hunt failed.

[8] Salmon would not only be a principal source of food for Ainu (as well as other animals [see Kayano Shigeru (1998b)]) but also provide the material for winter footwear (*chep keri*) and clothing.

[9] The interrelationship between Ainu and salmon also draws attention to a more fundamental point, namely the critical importance of rivers to Ainu life. The majority of Ainu settlements or *kotan* were located along a waterway and Ainu meticulously named every small tributary, bank and cliff, even naming many mountains after rivers that flowed from them (Ono 1999: 36).

[10] *Ashiri chep nomi* means Ceremony to Welcome the First Salmon of the Season. Since 1982, this ceremony has been held annually by Ainu around September on the shores of the Toyohira River in Sapporo as well as with other rituals conducted around Hokkaidō (see Sapporo Ainu Bunka Kyōkai 20 Nen no Ayumi Henshūiinkai 2003). In past times however, the form that this ceremony took differed quite significantly according to region and, in contrast to the public spectacles of current-day events, would invariably have been a private affair (Iwasaki-Goodman & Nomoto 2001: 29, 43). Oda Ito (1998), for example, an Ainu elder from Chitose describes how she remembers a ceremony her family used to perform called *Inawkorchep*, a word that in the Ainu language refers to a small salmon (about a foot long). She explains how the *inawkorchep* was taken into the *cise* through the east-facing 'sacred window' (*rorunpuyar*) and treated with reverence as a guest of honor. Numerous gifts (chiefly, rice and malt, the main ingredients of rice wine) would be bestowed upon the salmon that the family believed would then be shared amongst the gods who, upon recognizing the generosity of the humans, would send more fish up the river (Oda 1998: 128).

As represented by the salmon on the hand carved *Rera Cise* sign (fig. 8.1), traditional elements of food culture continue to resonate within the restaurant's rationale. The range of foods used in the cuisine served at the restaurant reflects the kinds of meat, fish and plants used within traditional society. However, although the connection of food with *kamuy* finds expression within ceremonial practice at the *Cise* – a topic that I address below – the idea of 'food as life' for modern day Ainu no longer resembles a notion based on physical survival. Instead, in its new urban context, the dictum has been transformed to signify a highly symbolic form of cultural, social and political sustenance. This new prerogative and role for food is tied into the conceptual reworking of the traditional *cise* into a wholly modern "home" at several different levels.

Socjally, it serves as an emic marker of Ainu ethnicity through its emphasis on food and, in its role as a "home-place" for Ainu, draws attention to the contemporary complexity and range of urban Ainu situations – migrant labour, homelessness, urban mobility and so on. At the same time, the production of ""Traditional Ainu Food' from recipes arranged in a modern way" as the restaurant menu puts it, underlines the creation of new forms of cultural expression that reflect the knowledge and experience of Ainu engaged in an entirely new politics of place. At one level, therefore, the *Cise* provides an 'introverted' space for Ainu to engage in cultural revitalization and ceremonial practice. At another, more 'extrovert' level, however, it serves to highlight the various routes of cultural, social and financial exchange that have developed between Tokyo and Hokkaidō. Especially in terms of food, the mobility and production of 'traditional food' beyond the territorial constraints of the "homeland" develops the local and regional identity of the *Cise*. As an ethnic restaurant, after all, its identity extends into the public sphere and operates as "a sort of "ethnosite"" (Turgeon & Pastinelli 2002: 251) which underlines the "significant broadening and deepening of relations" between Indigenous peoples and the majority population in urban areas (Schouls 2003: 48).

Despite its unique role within Tokyo, it is neither the first Ainu restaurant to have opened up nor the first to have appropriated food as the basis for social and cultural activities. A brief look at the histories of other Ainu restaurants will help to elucidate the particular context and dynamics of the relationship between food, identity and social organization characteristic of the *Rera Cise*.

Ainu Food as Cuisine: A Short History of Ainu Restaurants

To my knowledge, the first Ainu restaurant proper opened in Sapporo in 1979.[11] On June 12th of that year, the *Hokkaidō Shinbun* ran an article with the headline 'A World First?' about a (very) small Ainu restaurant called *Keraan* (meaning 'delicious' in Ainu) located on the second floor above a souvenir shop in a district of Sapporo. It served three dishes and a drink: *ohau* (a traditional broth combining vegetables, meat and fish), *ruibe* (frozen deer or salmon (*chep-ruibe*) eaten raw after thawing; although the salmon was also sometimes grilled), *shito* (starch-based dumpling) and *futap* (a tea made from the leaves of bamboo grass). The layout of the restaurant was designed to resemble a traditional domestic Ainu setting with a long rectangular hearth situated at the centre of the room around which customers were seated. Traditionally, the hearth was the symbolic centre not only of the Ainu *cise* but of Ainu life itself and was respectfully regarded as *ape-fuchi-kamuy*. It was the most revered of all Ainu deities as Ainu believed it served as the mediator between them and the world of *kamuy*. As such, *ape-fuchi-kamuy* was always offered the first prayer at every ritual and the first to be given offerings of rice wine and food (Kimura 1999: 94). The thoughtful integration of the hearth into the restaurant setting transformed what would normally have been a culinary experience for the customer into a cultural encounter.[12]

Like the thought given over to the integration of traditional Ainu culture into the *Keraan* restaurant's design by its Ainu proprietors, the *Rera Cise* also incorporates traditional elements into its design and architecture. Within its narrow, three-storey building, ceremonies at the *Cise* are conducted on the second floor. For such occasions, the eight tables that cover the floor space are cleared away and a wooden plank removed from the floor to reveal the grey ash of a fully functional hearth embedded in the tatami floor. I had heard that one of the main reasons the restaurant had moved from its rented premises in Waseda to its own property in Nakano was due to fire regulations enforced by the previous landlord that had prohibited the installment of a traditional hearth and

[11] I say 'to my knowledge' as a modern history of 'Ainu restaurants' – by which I mean an Ainu-run establishment serving Ainu foods for public consumption – in urban centres has not attracted that much attention in either popular or academic literature despite the fact that several have existed at one time or another.

[12] Indeed, this extended to the restaurant staff as well. In the newspaper article, it is stated that staff enlisted the help of a researcher from the Historical Museum of Hokkaidō (Hokkaidō Kaitaku Kinenkan) to provide them with details of the appropriate customs, language, and ways of preparing Ainu food.

which hampered ceremonial practice. In Nakano however, the restaurant had been built anew from the ground up by Ainu as a fully functional *cise* and, therefore, constructed around a place for fire and as a home for *ape-fuchi-kamuy*. A traditional ceremony for the building of a new *cise* (*Cise Konnomi*) had been conducted on the site prior to construction (see Ui 2001: 54-60) and, once built, Ainu ensured that cosmological design featured throughout the restaurant: shaved fetishes are located in all corners to befriend resident gods, to the left of the fireplace (known as *shiso* in Ainu) and behind is a shelf of handmade, cultural objects resembling the platform in a traditional *cise* called *iyoykir* on which family valuables such as *shintoko* (a much-prized laquerware container) and *ikayop* (quivers) were usually kept (Ainu Minzoku Hakubutsukan 1994: 18). The building itself also faces east, allowing the east facing window on the second floor located above the fireplace to act as *rorunpuyar* (sacred window) through which *kamuy* can enter and leave.[13]

Of course, the *Rera Cise*'s architectural detail is directly related to the long-held aspiration on the part of Ainu to create their own place, on their own terms, for their own purposes. It is important to note however that this aspiration is still undercut by factional divisions to a certain degree. Notwithstanding such politics, as a privately owned and run space it provides Ainu with an opportunity to congregate, socialize and practice cultural activities, if they so wish, without the external limitations of a tenant code (enforced by landlords) or other civic constraints like those experienced at the Cultural Center. When seen this way, the establishment of the *Cise* underscores the importance of space for ethnic movements in urban areas. It also builds on the idea raised in the previous chapter of Ainu actively engaged in the appropriation of the city and the effect social relations have in remapping the landscape from an Ainu perspective. I talk of sociality here because the *Cise* is, first and foremost, a social endeavour and a true "place" in the sense of being a meeting up point of social relations. Indeed, in Tokyo, a defining characteristic of the *Cise* for its members and supporters is considered to be its open and social atmosphere that one often hears referred to as resembling a family environment.

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[13] Of course, due to restrictions of space, several elements of the traditional *cise* structure are taken liberty with in the design of the Rera Cise. Old *cise*, for example, only had three windows but only one faced east whereas all three windows (one on each floor) of the *Rera Cise* face east. Ainu were taught never to intentionally look in through the *rorunpuyar* either but as a functional window of a restaurant that requires opening and closing this remains difficult to uphold.

This dimension of the restaurant also correlates with another urban Ainu restaurant called *Ashiri Kotan* (New Village) in Sapporo. *Ashiri Kotan* is interesting as it maintains strong links with the *Rera Cise* at several levels.

Ashiri Kotan was opened on September 15th 2003 to coincide with the holding of that year's *ashiri chep nomi*. The proprietors are the Sapporo-based group *Ainu Art Project* (hereafter AAP) an Ainu association made up of three extended Ainu families and some non-Ainu members totalling approximately thirty (Bogdanowicz 2004). The type of food served at the restaurant offers a characteristic blend of traditional ingredients with Japanese cuisine. *Kitopiro* flavoured gyoza and (pork) sausage are distinctive examples of this but are also offset by more traditional elements on the menu such as pumpkin *shito* (bearing in mind that pumpkin along with leeks, potatoes and other vegetables became prominent ingredients in Ainu food from the Edo era on) as well as salmon (served nevertheless with a non-traditional sauce incorporating garlic, apples and soy sauce) (see Bogdanowicz 2004). Beyond the particular features of the food itself however, is its role as a motif of memory, family and belonging through which a 'new' sense of collectivity develops that highlights an interesting interplay between culture and identity underpinning the *Ashiri Kotan* venture. I had first-hand experience of this dynamic during the summer of 2003 when I was fortunate enough to spend several weeks visiting and eventually staying over at the AAP's previous café.[14] Although I was in Sapporo, my time there was directly related to my research and network of Ainu friends and contacts in Tokyo. The main spokesperson and co-founder of the AAP, Yūki Kōji (son of the late Ainu activist Yūki Shōji), had been born and brought up in the Kantō region. He had been an active member of the Ainu Association of Wind during the mid-nineties and had married the daughter of one of the elders of the group in June 1998. In fact, their marriage ceremony had been a prominent event in contemporary Ainu history in Tokyo as after a civil service they moved to a Tokyo park and had participated in the first ever traditional Ainu marriage ceremony in the capital region (see Ui 2001: 6-23). The make-up of the AAP bore more than just a passing resemblance to the organization and atmosphere of the Ainu Association of Wind in Tokyo. Its formation along lines of

[14] In the summer of 2003, the group had been given the opportunity to run a self-styled Ainu café rent free (called the *Ainu Art Project Café*) in the Nakanojima district of Sapporo and moved on from there to establish their own business later the same year.

(inter-) Ainu family relations and social alliances (with both Ainu and non-Ainu) highlighted the key dynamic of consociation that energized their cultural activities and group rationale. Although the food was an important aspect of the café experience, privately, as a group, the café provided a welcome space for its members to gather after work, talk, discuss as well as play the *tonkori* and practice together for upcoming performances.

On more than one occasion, my experiences eating, sleeping and hanging out at the café reminded me of how the wide range of relations that existed within the café as well as those that extended beyond it, informed a modern impression of traditional Ainu social structure. Traditionally, an Ainu *kotan* (village) had consisted of a paternal clan of between four and seven families signifying the fact that for the most part the activities of everyday 'Ainu' life had been grounded in social and familial relations (Ainu Minzoku Hakubutsukan 1994: 18). Today, despite obvious differences in location and the historical disembeddedness of Ainu from "traditional" lifeways, the social character of Ainu association in urban areas resonates with a similar kind of close-knit, familial yet fluid consociation. This enables groups to incorporate multiple attachments by negotiating a sense of ethnic identification with ties that may well transcend ethnic division. Such dynamics also demonstrate that social processes of Ainu identification in cities, especially on the mainland, do not necessarily entail the deterritorialization of identity and belonging that could be considered to prevent Ainu from creating a sense of belonging in urban areas. On the contrary, as Ehrkamp (2005: 349) writes from a transnational perspective, "[a]s immigrants are negotiating their belonging, they engage in creating places, transforming the urban landscape of contemporary cities".

By gathering together, places are created and new social movements are developed. It is exactly this kind of dynamic that underpinned the foundation of the group that established the *Rera Cise*. One important element must be added however, food and with it memory.

Rera Cise: History, Memory and Social Transformation

The existence of restaurants as Ainu places in urban centres draws particular significance to how memory is intimately linked to the social dynamics of place in being the product

of interaction *between* people that transforms the way individuals interpret and understand their own lives.[15] As metaphors of inclusivity and domesticity, the naming of the *Rera Cise* (House of Wind) (as well as the *Ashiri Kotan* [New Village]) draws upon Ainu memories of the past and of childhood and family in the lived experience of traditional foods. At the same time, it also provides a welcoming notion of comfort and acceptance for newcomers. For younger Ainu who may not share the memories of their elders, the restaurant provides an environment in which new attachments to food and thus associated memories can be made. From the point of view of the Ainu Association of Wind in Tokyo, the collective and social dimensions of memory offers a unique opportunity to see how traditional food allowed its original members to engage with their pasts and enabled them to make a place in the city and choose the terms under which to construct their own culture and identities (cf. Schouls 2003: 48).

The history of the *Rera Cise*'s establishment stretches back to 1983 when a small group of mainly women broke away from the Kantō Utari Association to form their own group the *Ainu Minzoku no Ima o Kangaeru Rera no Kai* (Ainu Association of Wind: Considering the Contemporary Situation of the Ainu People), officially shortened in 1991 to the *Rera no Kai* (Ainu Association of Wind).[16] One distinctive characteristic of the group was that it followed the pattern of regional consociation noted previously in being comprised of Ainu mostly from the towns of Obihiro, Kushiro and Akan in eastern Hokkaidō. Nishimura Hatsue was the group's first principal organizer and throughout the mid-1980s the mainly female members of the Ainu Association of Wind started to cook and bring Ainu food with them to share while discussing Ainu culture at their monthly meetings. As they gathered, ate, and discussed, the members found themselves increasingly drawn to the significance of the food that they brought and its social import for Ainu culture and their own lives. Their memories of food, they discovered, shared a wide range of commonalities based on experiences of growing up in Hokkaidō at a time when the social pressures to assimilate and conform to a Japanese lifestyle were creating friction and schisms between generations often in the same household. At those meetings, the social relations energized by and through the food the women brought and

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[15] How memories of food are wedded to the dynamic processes of identity has been a subject of much debate within anthropology. For an overview of this debate, see Sutton (2001).

[16] I note in Chapter 3 specific reasons for this split that I won't repeat here.

thought about, created a meaningful space in which they could interpret and understand the conditions of a similar antagonism between the past and present faced by Ainu in the city, an antagonism that the group concluded could be bridged through creating a place – a restaurant – for the increasing number of Ainu in the city.[17]

By the late 1980s monthly meetings were being held at a community hall in Shinjuku. Beyond the usual functions of a social gathering, the meetings raised discussion about Ainu issues and ways of introducing and promoting Ainu culture through speeches and dance performances. Such discussion naturally became entwined with the ambition of establishing a restaurant that developed, by the early 1990s, into a national fund-raising campaign. With the help of Ainu and Wajin supporters throughout the country, enough funds were raised to open the first shop in 1994.

Although the success of this grassroots Ainu campaign in fulfilling its goal is testament to the dynamics of trans-ethnic alliances and self-organization in the capital, one must not forget that the initial idea for the restaurant arose in direct response to the number of Ainu moving down from Hokkaidō to Tokyo. When considered from this perspective, the *Cise* represents an interesting symbol of urban Ainu life as, like many Ainu, it is located in Tokyo yet it maintains an array of lived relationships with Hokkaidō (and other places) that situates its identity in that tension between fixity and mobility. Especially in terms of the movement of 'traditional foods' like salmon, deer and wild plants down to Tokyo from Hokkaidō, such routes not only mirror the physical relocation of Ainu migrants but also highlights the range of relationships that situate the *Cise* within a diasporic network. For many, it is exactly this tension which demarcates the *Cise* as a new site of Indigenous belonging and social activism. Its existence is at once embedded within emergent roots of Ainu identity in the city and yet also spread across a range of translocal attachments. Due to its multifarious features, one way to address its significance as a place is to provide ethnographic examples of the kinds of social interactions that happen there. In the following pages, therefore, I turn to a series of ethnographic frames that capture some of the most significant moments of social interrelations in operation.

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[17] This intention obviously mirrored the long held ambition of establishing a *seikatsukan* (community center) in the capital region that both the Tokyo Utari Association and Kantō Utari Association had petitioned the Metropolitan government for since the mid-1970s.

Ethnographic Frames

1. Emergent Sociality

Approximately twice a month during my time in Tokyo, a gathering was held at the restaurant as part of an on-going series of events called *Onne Cise*, meaning 'old house' in the Ainu language. The connotation of *onne* here refers to 'inclusion' rather than 'age' as the occasion invites the general public to participate in a workshop whilst consuming a set menu of traditional Ainu food and drink. Advertising would be posted at the Ainu Culture Exchange Center but, over time, one usually heard of an upcoming 'event' by word of mouth a few weeks before printed leaflets appeared.

Frame I

It was the end of November and the end of only my third month in Tokyo. I arrived at the *Rera Cise* around midday very tired in clothes that still reeked of smoke. I had spent the previous day and night at a ceremonial gathering organized by the Tokyo Ainu Association to the west of Tokyo, four hours by train. It had been a celebration of the publication of a personalized biography of the Tokyo Ainu elder Urakawa Haruzo held at a *Poro Cise* ('big house') that the elder himself had built out of traditional materials in the mountains of Yamanashi prefecture (see Chapter 7). Although I had already committed myself to going to the *Rera Cise* for a publicized 'event' starting at five o'clock at which an elder from Hokkaidō was to speak on Ainu culture, the daughter of a prominent member of the Ainu Association of Wind had mentioned earlier in the week that I should attend a ceremonial workshop at the restaurant that afternoon. I was a little confused as to why I hadn't seen nor heard any advertising for this 'event' but in a conscious effort to get known by all four main groups in the capital region I was grateful if a little apprehensive at the opportunity.

Twenty minutes or so after midday, the supposed time of the workshop, I arrived at the *Cise*. Even at that early stage, I had gathered that no Ainu events ever ran 'to time' and had already heard several genial asides from Ainu regarding the casual nature of "Ainu time" (*Ainu jikan*).[18] Sure enough the sound of voices I heard from the street

[18] This is one of several social cues that is sometimes used by Ainu to express the distinctiveness of Ainu culture and way of life from the majority Japanese for whom punctuality is taken very seriously.

indicated nothing had yet started. The interior of the *Cise* seemed exceptionally dark and cool as I entered, a striking but welcome contrast to the unseasonally warm sunlight outside. Taking a second to adjust to the dimness, I shuffled my way rather clumsily past a group seated around the lone table downstairs none of whom I recognized. As I looked up however, I was very grateful to see the familiar face of O-san standing by the kitchen. A year older than myself, O-san was a member of the Young Utari Society, advanced student of the Ainu language and perhaps one of the most active supporters of the Ainu movement with particular ties to the *Rera Cise*. He was also a fixed-term employee at the Ainu Culture Exchange Center at the time and thus someone I had started to get to know as we would see and talk to each other on my visits there several times a week. After a few pleasantries and news of the previous evening, I quickly asked after preparations for the workshop hoping they were already under way. O-san looked a little concerned and confused. "What ceremony?" he replied. For some reason I didn't think to mention my invitation, perhaps because of my confusion at his response. From that moment on our exchange deteriorated into an awkward, uncharacteristic silence. Feeling a little out of place, I motioned to leave. I told O-san of my plan to return later that evening and moved towards the door. On my way out, I glanced to notice the rather fragile figure of a Tokyo elder seated in the corner.

When I was out of the door and in the street, O-san followed. Moving us out of earshot of the window on the second floor that I now realized was open, he asked in a hushed but decidedly more familiar tone, how I'd found out about the ceremony. There was a ceremony but for Ainu only, he explained, begging the question how I'd come to know of it. As soon as I mentioned my invitation, his demeanor completely changed and he immediately opened his cell phone to investigate the whereabouts of the daughter who had yet to arrive.

Commentary

Although O-san eventually found out that the daughter had in fact been stuck in traffic, wary of his initial response and of the expectant atmosphere inside, I made my excuses and forewent the workshop to return for the event later that evening. As I came to know and be known by Ainu at the restaurant through regular attendance at social events,

ceremonies and participation on group trips and so on, my presence at such an occasion would become less and less of an issue but, at that time, I recognized that I was still a relative outsider and "foreign" stranger. Nevertheless, that day provided me with an important insight into the private, communal side of the public restaurant. The presence of an elder from Hokkaidō in Tokyo afforded Ainu the chance to gather and learn about ceremonial practice. In doing so, the social relations that the workshop drew upon underlined the restaurant's importance as a site of cultural continuity and social interaction. Especially, for the sake of some Ainu in the capital who I grew to learn were attempting to re-connect to the world of *kamuy* and the spiritual side of traditional culture in their everyday lives, such opportunities demonstrate the effect a place can have on the way people think about and live their lives. At the same time, links with elders in Hokkaidō bring about a heightened degree of acknowledgement within Ainu society for the situation of Ainu in the capital as well as a more subtle level of legitimacy regarding Ainu relations with the world of *kamuy* outside of Hokkaidō. The sense of regard Ainu have towards the *Cise* and the way they interpret its significance from the perspective of their own lives demonstrates one aspect of how it facilitates Ainu negotiation of the social world in the capital.

Frame II

Later that evening, I returned to the *Cise* for the public talk. After paying the standard fee of ¥2,500 (approx. US$20) to staff, I made my way to the second floor which was already packed. I squeezed myself into the last available space in front of the hearth. Anticipation of the talk had generated something of a reverent atmosphere. The elder spoke for about forty-five minutes, describing the spiritual meaning behind the performance of the ceremony that had apparently lasted all afternoon as well as his personal thoughts on Ainu culture. Seated to the side of him was Hasegawa Osamu the head of the Ainu Association of Wind and long time associate of the elder. The audience was mainly made up of young people except for two elderly gentlemen who I would later regard as regular attendees. To the left and slightly in front of me seated alongside the edge of the hearth was a striking figure of a young man in his mid-twenties with a full, dark beard and long head of hair. Despite a personal aversion on my part to the

identification of 'Ainu' by any particular physical characteristic, even I couldn't help but notice how "Ainu" he looked, to the extent I thought that his features resembled that of an imagined seventeenth century Ainu warrior; yet from where I sat a hint of dreadlocks in his hair suggested a distinctly contemporary orientation. After the elder had finished his talk, Hasegawa dutifully opened up the floor to questions. A customary silence of a few seconds followed, during which time both the elder's and Hasegawa's eyes fell on the young man. The elder spoke first, asking him of his family roots. It was obvious that neither the elder nor Hasegawa had seen him before and both were intrigued.

The man in a very slow and assured tone spoke of his childhood in the Tōhoku region and of personal interest in his family's background since growing up when he found himself looking decidedly "different" from his friends at school. He said he had wanted to ask his grandmother about any possible Ainu connection in the family but his parents forbad him and the question was never spoken of again. Both the elder and Hasegawa noted his facial characteristics as uncanny and couldn't help but assume some Ainu relation somewhere. Hasegawa then followed up by asking whether the man felt any affiliation to Ainu culture, to which he replied that he was unsure but felt a need to find out, explaining his attendance at the talk. This brief interchange was ended by Hasegawa advising him to attend similar kind of events over the coming weeks or months to see if he felt he fitted in.

Commentary

I only ever saw this man once more the following week at a music venue in Yokohama at a concert given by the Ainu musician Oki. It is of course impossible to know the reasons why he never returned thereafter but his absence serves to highlight what Hasegawa actually meant by his advice and, furthermore, underlines a distinct disjuncture between racial and cultural identity that is widely regarded (if not overtly) as a common tension within contemporary Ainu society.

The young man's ignorance as to his own ancestral heritage, in spite of inquiries to close family members, is by and large a common experience shared by many of today's younger generation. The general association in the public imagination between Ainu and the social stigma of discrimination, economic marginalization, poverty and so

on prevents many parents from informing their children of their family backgrounds (if, that is, they even know themselves). Ainu ancestry may well fall into a family secret that becomes lost over the generations. An intriguing example of this situation happened in my first week in the field when a colleague passed me a folder full to the brim of newspaper clippings of Ainu related articles dating back to the early 1970s. He told me that a mother and daughter had approached him after hearing of his interest in Ainu culture with the folder that they had found by surprise in their (grand)father's possessions after his death. Although they had a faint understanding of his upbringing and subsequent army service in pre-war Hokkaidō, they had no idea why he would have kept such a record and more perplexing for them no idea why he would have kept it a secret from them. Here, perhaps, details of the family background (bearing in mind Ainu families also adopted many Wajin children orphaned from or left behind by settlers from the mainland) is not so much the point, but rather the role Ainu issues can play in an individual's life without others knowing.

Within this social context, Hasegawa's advice of 'seeing if you feel you fit in' reveals a progressive position on Ainu identity indicative of the *Cise* itself. It represents a shift away from a closed and fixed idea of a primordial, racial group to an open and fluid concept of an 'historical ethnic collectivity'. In other words, it is a position that dismisses an either/or basis to identity claims – recognizing the inherent social complexity of defining 'Ainu identity' along essentialist bloodlines – to foreground historical dictates and the fact that there is no and can be no homogeneous Ainu group identity but only variation and specificity embedded in the historicity of lived experience. Although this perspective does little to alleviate circumstances of intra-group discrimination, it nevertheless moves the focus of attention away from unhelpful issues of authenticity and towards a more pragmatic and realist politics of identity that takes full account of the historical conditions underpinning the social, cultural and political fragmentation of Ainu society as well as the fact that "Ainu" today is one identity amongst many – woman, factory worker, wife/husband, mother/father etc. – that people negotiate in their lives (if they so choose).

Upon reflection of the rationale that established the restaurant in the first instance, it is easy to recognize how this perspective on Ainu identity and the condition of

contemporary Ainu society represents the open processes of consociation and collectivity that define and characterize the *Rera Cise* as a place.

2. Meeting Point: Social and Political Nexus

Due in part to its location and easy access from Tokyo by train and subway, the space of the restaurant offers a natural site for social gatherings but also a functional and symbolic place for associated meetings. For example, preparatory discussions amongst Ainu about events that involve collabouration between two or more Ainu groups are often held at the restaurant. However, local groups, NGOs and other organizations with varying ties to the Ainu movement also use the space. Alongside cultural activities, the *Rera Cise* is the meeting up point of relations that extend into other groups and communities not only in Tokyo and across Japan but throughout the world.

Frame III

One evening, after having received news at short notice, I rushed to the *Rera Cise* to attend a social function for a visiting Indigenous leader. The guest was Chief Arthur Manuel from the Neskonlith Indian Band (Shuswap Nation), British Columbia, son of the Indigenous activist and visionary Grand Chief George Manuel. He was in Japan along with a fellow band member to promote awareness about native opposition to the proposed development of a ski resort on "unceded" Shuswap territory by the Japanese multinational company Nippon Cable.[19] He had already spoken at several venues in Tokyo during the week facilitated by support from various human rights organizations, Indigenous activists and NGOs. I arrived to the *Cise* just in time to grab a seat and order food along with everyone else. The gathering was held on the second floor where, I note in my diary, I was a little taken aback as a week prior a ceremony had transformed the room into a very different space. With the hearth covered up, however, approximately twenty-five to thirty people could just about squeeze in. As the set menu of Ainu foods (plus an optional drink) was served, the ritual of self-introductions began. Each person stood in turn giving their name, organization (or reason for being there) and thoughts

[19] For an overview of the debate over land rights behind this case, see the 'Political Perspectives' section in volume 7 issue 1 of the native youth media journal *Redwire*, available on-line at: http://www.redwiremag.com

regarding the occasion. This ritual was repeated at numerous gatherings I attended and indicated the presence of different groups and people who were perhaps meeting for the first time but also the importance placed on social networking by activists for enabling projects and goals. As one person after another spoke and sat down, I counted representatives from a minimum of seven different groups ranging from environmental lobbyists to peace workers to Indigenous activists. Chief Manuel also spoke, thanking everyone for their attendance and of looking forward to his trip to Hokkaidō and of learning more about development issues effecting Ainu communities such as the Dam in Nibutani.

Commentary

There are plenty of other examples I could have chosen to demonstrate this point yet the symbolism of Chief Manuel's visit – in being the son of the Indigenous leader who first coined the term 'Fourth World' – is a poignant expression of international relations between Indigenous peoples and of Ainu acceptance and recognition within that network (Sjöberg 1986). Indeed, several Indigenous guests who passed through Tokyo during my time there were brought to the *Rera Cise* as a matter of course. It was interesting to note therefore an element of dismay on the part of the staff if an Indigenous representative visiting Tokyo wasn't brought to the restaurant.[20]

The role of networks illustrates the political significance of trans-ethnic relations within Ainu society in Tokyo and how they refigure the conventional image of bounded, ethnic groups. What they also highlight is the range of positions and social relations that individuals are inserted into in both Tokyo and 'Ainu society'. In turn, this draws attention to the range of differences along the lines of class, gender, age, occupation and so on which intersect people's lives and which complicate any straightforward claim or representation of a distinctive 'Ainu community' in Tokyo. Of course, as Anthias (1998:

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[20] One afternoon, I noticed a program on television documenting the visit of the American Indian Movement leader and Indigenous activist Dennis Banks to Tokyo. He was in Japan on business promoting a particular variety of wild rice traditionally grown and farmed in his community. The following day I went for lunch at the *Rera Cise* and the waitress had also seen the program and wondered why he had never come to the restaurant, especially as he was in the city to promote traditional foods. This example demonstrates the extent to which it is assumed people active within Indigenous support groups and related NGOs/NPOs in Tokyo know of the restaurant and its role as well as the disappointment associated with realizing the limits of that network.

570) has argued, to focus on difference does not reject the possibility of an 'imagined community' outright, only that it underlines a need to demonstrate how commonalities transcend such differences.

A particularly strong alliance in the Nakano ward exists between the *Cise* and local Okinawan groups. One example of this relationship is the co-organization of the annual *charanke* festival held in a park opposite *Sun Puraza* in Nakano. There is also a multi-ethnic association called *Teegee · Charanke no Kai* situated in Kawasaki through which the Ainu Association of Wind along with the Young Utari Society co-operates with Okinawan groups on a variety of issues. Other collabourative events take place throughout the year. One notable example from 2003 was the first re-enactment performed with Koreans, Taiwanese and Okinawans of the so-called *Jinruikan* ('House of Mankind') incident dating from the 1903 Exposition in Osaka.[21] Such activities also bolster the *Rera Cise*'s campaign over recent years to galvanize a new relationship with the Metropolitan government's Human Rights Office that several Ainu see as a positive move towards achieving an eventual goal of establishing a new era of Indigenous rights for Ainu in the capital.

By approaching the restaurant as a site of social interaction that food enables and provides, it foregrounds the way in which it is enmeshed in multiple networks of relations in which people position themselves, and find themselves positioned, through "entanglements" with relationships that delineate place (cf. Cook & Crang 1996: 138). In this way, the experience of attending the restaurant and eating Ainu food in Tokyo is representative of a particular social context which, as Ian Cook and Philip Crang elabourate on, can be "opened up by and constituted through connections into any number of networks, which extend beyond delimiting boundaries of particular places" (1996: 138). It also highlights the inter-ethnic and interrelated forms of social interaction that, in part, constitute place and, therefore, can be mobilized to act in defense of it.

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[21] The 'House of Mankind' (*jinruikan*) was an installation at the Fifth Industrial Exhibition in Osaka in 1903 created by the anthropologist Tsuboi Shōgorō. Its intended display of Koreans, Chinese and Okinawans alongside Ainu and Taiwanese Aboriginals drew criticism from the first three groups who did not want to participate alongside such "primitives". From what we can gather from historical sources, however, despite some consternation on the part of Ainu with regard to the exposition's rationale, the group was more than happy to stay at the exposition in order to perform and sell their crafts in order to raise money to build a school for Ainu children in their home community of Fushiko.

Frame IV

The restaurant's role as a meeting point obviously extends beyond 'international' events like the one cited above. In fact, like any restaurant, the greatest number of 'meetings' that take place there are of the more mundane kind: friends getting together at the weekend, work colleagues stopping by for something to eat before traveling home, and so on. Nevertheless, even for the most regular customer, the food is very rarely regarded as a commonplace meal. The majority of customers are intrigued by what is on offer, especially by some of the more wild herbs and meats that feature very rarely, if at all, in Japanese cuisine. Indeed, such curiosity in the food and its relationship to Ainu culture is often the first step customers may take in becoming more involved, or at least more informed and interested, in Ainu culture and in the events the *Rera Cise* puts on and is involved in. Of course, at the same time, mirroring the general lack of interest in Ainu affairs in Japanese society, customers may also display indifference to the food and to its social context. One example of this kind of experience held particular relevance for me.

One weekday evening I arranged to meet at the *Rera Cise* a group of adult students to whom I taught English once a week. During our classes, they had always expressed interest in my research and seemed, like most Tokyoites, surprised and somewhat curious at learning about Ainu in Tokyo, especially about the food. The restaurant, therefore, offered a perfect opportunity, I thought, to not only introduce general points about Ainu history and culture but also the range of situations modern day Ainu face in Tokyo. However, the evening did not go as I had expected. Seated on the second floor alongside the shelf of traditional cultural goods, I had agreed with the staff in advance the menu to include some of the most "typical" earthy Ainu dishes such as *ohau* (the traditional broth mentioned previously), *muninimo* (fried potato starch), *mefun* (ground up salmon – including the bones) and *kitopiro-don* (a hybrid Ainu-Japanese dish incorporating *kitopiro* with rice), then some more cuisine-like dishes such as deer sashimi, baked salmon and finally a sample of the restaurant's own creations like *chipoimo* (mashed potato with salmon eggs). This was all washed down with *hascapu jyusu* (woodbine juice). The reaction from most of the students was one of polite interest but general displeasure. Now, although I could appreciate that the taste of the food may not have been to their liking, what I could not account for was the sense of dismay which

seemed to generate opinions as the evening dragged on regarding the inauthenticity of Ainu culture (the idea that it had disappeared at least a century ago) and how the meal was not so much Ainu food but Hokkaidō food. Compounded by the brusque way in which the eldest student spoke to the Ainu waitress and the disrespect shown by a couple of students towards the traditional cultural goods by touching them (despite a large sign asking customers not to) left me, not only somewhat embarrassed but also a little surprised at such a reaction.

Commentary

It was only after the fact I realized that my intent and focus in the early stages of fieldwork to understand the history, culture and social dynamics of Ainu *in* Tokyo, prevented me from taking more notice of the kind of experiences that the consumption of Ainu food at the restaurant held for regular customers. In my eagerness to discover the reaction of Japanese to learning that Ainu not only lived in Tokyo but also opened businesses, held dance, language and culture classes and engaged in everyday life like everyone else, I overlooked the fact that for the majority of people the food collapsed into a signifier of northern Japan; food of another place and perhaps even time. It was, in effect, a touristic experience of Hokkaidō in Tokyo.[22] All too quick to dismiss these reactions as manifestations of the ignorance inscribed into the wider politics of Ainu affairs within Japanese society, I failed to recognize that the consumption of ethnic food is for all but the most knowledgeable and discerning of clientele an act of geographical appropriation. Far from initiating any sense of historical and political revelation, it renders the unknown known in a safe and pleasurable or, at the very least, interesting manner. In following the conclusions drawn from an investigation of consumer experiences at ethnic restaurants in Quebec City, food "is not just a placed cultural object, it is also a displaced and deterritorialized artifact" (Turgeon & Pastinelli 2002: 251).

The commodification of Ainu food as an experience of an 'other' time and place by the majority of customers was one I found difficult to reconcile with my cultural

[22] At one time, on the trains that I would take everyday, the Hokkaidō government was running an advertising campaign using large, panoramic photographs of the landscape that packaged the island as an exotic and distinctly different if not foreign location. To my mind, these images were emblematic of the idea propagated by Japanese media that the 'native' inhabitants, the Ainu, were almost objects of nature themselves, "integral … to the Hokkaido landscape" (Hiwasaki 2000: 398).

understanding. The economic prerogative that underlined the fundamental survival of the restaurant as a viable business transformed food into a commodity consumed by the customer. This transformation of food into an alienable object of economic exchange was alienating in a double sense: first of the food from the Ainu cultural context in which it derived meaning and, secondly, of the customer whose interest in the food was directed towards its *explicit* (as opposed to *implicit*) "biography" (Cook et al. 1998).[23] The *explicit* biography of the food refers to its origins – of where it came from – interest that reproduces little more than essentialist representations of ethnic life (life from elsewhere).[24] More important for me was the *implicit* biography of food, by which I mean its history as a displaced object. The process of displacement through which food moves to become consumed in a local setting of a restaurant denotes the much wider context through which what is consumed locally is constituted through a relational and fluid set of networks and relationships that stretch beyond the particular boundaries of place (Cook & Crang 1996: 138; Amin 2004, Massey 2004).[25]

I believe the *Rera Cise* presents an important example of this reasoning. The establishment of the restaurant as a localized site of social relationships through which new forms of culture and new structures of power for Ainu are produced is based upon its economic role as a public, restaurant space. At the same time as locating a place for Ainu in the urban environment, the food represents an economic prerogative that underlines the fundamental survival of the restaurant as a viable business. In order to make sense of

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[23] By the term "biography" here, I refer to the work of the geographers Ian Cook and Philip Crang in their endeavors to 'bring geography back in' to understanding of culture and consumption. This approach builds on the work of Appadurai (1986), Kopytoff (1986) and others on the social life of things, establishing the idea that in our industrial society "foods have lives before and after they appear on the supermarket shelves" (Cook et al. 1998: 162). Such understanding has generated a host of new metaphors that as Castree (2001: 1520) sums up "have helped us to see commodities as complex, mutable, and mobile sites of social relations, cultural identity, and economic power". From this perspective the question of 'what food is this?' engenders a more fundamental inquiry into 'where does this food come from?' (Cook et al. 1998: 163).

[24] To develop this point a little further, the social context of food exhibits the danger of leaving undisturbed the supposition that Hokkaidō can be the only (real, everyday, grounded) *place* Ainu life can be lived. In other words, through the idea that Ainu food comes from Hokkaidō, Hokkaidō is perceived to retain some semblance of a territorial identity different and other from the global identity of Tokyo (Sassen 1991). In this way, the regional identity of Hokkaidō and thus the perceived regionalism of Ainu issues are conceived to reflect naturally occurring boundaries of spatial difference.

[25] For Crang et al. (2003; also see Cook & Crang 1996: 137-140), this approach underlines their understanding of commodity culture in transnational space as "multiply inhabited" by a range of actors and consumers who find themselves at varying places, times and levels differently positioned, entangled and juxtaposed in relation to such flows and networks.

what may seem like two divergent processes, one "extensive" across space and another "introspective" concerned with place, the work of Wendy Harcourt and Arturo Escobar (2002: 12-13) provides a useful conceptual framework with which to think. They use the term "meshworks" to define the non-hierarchical structure of "resistance networks" that form the basis to new social movements. 'Meshworks', they assert, exhibit two parallel dynamics: "localization" and "interweaving". The former defines the strategies that contribute to the local character of nodal points in a social network; the latter is what links those local sites together. To apply these terms here, 'localization' can refer to the internal dynamics of making place constituted by the power of Ainu food to actuate memory, cultural practice as well as social and political action. 'Interweaving' on the other hand is what can be seen as linking the restaurant to Hokkaidō, linkages that can be characterized by flows of social and cultural exchange but also by the economic movement of traditional foods like deer, salmon and wild plants like *kitopiro* as commodified products that are bought, prepared and eventually sold to the consumer.

Of course, the duality of Ainu food in the restaurant is not as clear-cut as such categorization makes it appear, but nevertheless two distinct roles do exist. These roles are not without precedence in the Indigenous world. Studies have shown a remarkable degree of adaptation in Indigenous communities when faced with the pressures of production and trade stimulated by the globalized economy. What Kuhnlein and Receveur (1996: 426) term the 'dual economic model' refers to findings amongst Indigenous populations in West Africa as well as Central and North America that, in spite of the pressures of capitalist relations of power and modernization theory, the traditional sphere of food production and consumption continues to operate alongside forms of wage and cash crop based agriculture (Barrett 1995, Brun 1991).[26] In a similar but uniquely localized and urban fashion, the *Rera Cise* is indicative of such a model of traditional food production: capable of producing traditional food for sale as part of a trade economy whilst maintaining, reviving (and, in some cases, inventing) the intimate connection to

[26] Searles (2002) with regard to his study of food in Inuit society has questioned the legitimacy of the division between traditional and non-traditional foods by highlighting the insertion of Qallunaat (White peoples') food into traditional networks of reciprocity and sharing amongst Inuit in Iqaluit. Searles' argument highlights at once the continual negotiation of social interaction and the difficulty with which boundaries are to be fixed between categories of food.

food and thus the necessary conditions through which Ainu are able to gather, share and communicate and create for themselves, on their own terms, an Ainu place.

3. Onne Cise – Ukoitak*: Culture, Education, Oral History*

A further facet to a different kind of politics of place active at the *Rera Cise* is represented by another event in the *Onne Cise* series called *Ukoitak* in Ainu, meaning 'talk together'. This event invites people to the restaurant (for a fee) to listen to an Ainu speak about their life and then engage in dialogue through questions and answers whilst consuming a traditional menu.

Frame V

S-san finally managed to find a space to sit down on the floor beside the hearth. As the principal participant in the *kamuynomi* he would be leading the prayers. He looked as nervous as he told me he would be when we had met at an event the previous week. In fact, I had met S-san on several different occasions previous to that night. The first of those meetings had taken place the morning after a ceremony at the *Poro Cise* in the mountains of Yamanashi prefecture. When I awoke, I found him seated beside the hearth attending to the smouldering ashes in the same position he had been in the previous night. He motioned to me to join him while the others still slept. I remember that he had seemed somehow at peace seated there. He was never one to miss out on the chance to crack a joke but at that time in the morning, with the smoke of the night's fire still thick in the air, I had had to make a concerted effort to keep up with his humour. After that first meeting, there had been similar encounters at a couple of events and I guess it was this impression of him that had made his nervous and serious look prior to the *kamuynomi* all the more obvious to me.

S-san had chosen salmon to be the object of that night's *kamuynomi.* After the ceremony, the fish that had been used was cooked and made the main dish of that night. Actually, this had been an unusual beginning to an *ukoitak* event as usually the Ainu speakers would only come to sit and talk but S-san had taken the opportunity to present his talk in a different way. While everyone was served salmon, S-san spoke of his upbringing in a small Ainu village in Hokkaidō and how he had grown up like many

other 'Ainu' unaware of his ethnicity. Salmon represented an important motif of his childhood and in this way he used it as a way to talk about other memories of local Ainu life at the time. As he moved from talking about his childhood to his late teenage years, he started to describe how he had moved backwards and forwards between Hokkaidō and Tokyo as a seasonal labourer many times during the 1950s and had eventually joined an Ainu worker's group. Whilst in Tokyo he had become involved in the Tokyo Utari Association in the early 1970s. Still interested in the activities of Ainu groups in the region he only took part in events on the odd occasion, liking to be at home with his (Brazilian) wife and family.

Commentary

The general context of the *Ukoitak* event when addressed from a social and historical perspective draws attention to two things: firstly, that Ainu participate in the same society as Japanese and it is that relationship throughout modern history that has defined co-operation and conflict. Therefore, and this is the second point, the basis to any progressive Ainu movement must aim at some foundational level to be part of a wider, relational process of mutual transformation. It is this rationale which feeds back into one of the founding principles of the restaurant itself in being a space from which Ainu can educate non-Ainu about their history, culture and society on their own terms. At the same time, the personal aspect of the event tied into its innovative showcasing of oral history draws particular attention to the modern character of Ainu life; that for the majority of Ainu who know nothing of their culture or ancestral way of life, stories about their own lives and experiences is all that many possess of their identity.

I knew that many of the Ainu presenters often felt hesitant with regard to the value of their 'story' (nervous that no-one may show up for example [which never happened]) yet such stories could often be seen and heard to have a particular effect on their audience. For instance, such events would commonly extend into the general conversation of newcomers outside of the restaurant and initiate a host of questions that would often entice them to return or attend another event. As with the *Onne Cise* series in general though, one must not overlook the integrated role of food in the *Ukoitak* experience. More often than not it was the prospect and promise of food that enabled the

restaurant to facilitate that all important relationship with the larger society and, furthermore, strengthen related communities of interest.

When alluding to the educational and cultural role of the *Cise* however, it is important to add that the social and educational activities of the *Cise* seen by the public are mirrored by those in a private space. Once a month, the restaurant is the site for Ainu language classes (called *Itak Cise* or 'Language House') as well as a venue for Ainu cultural practicé demonstrating the duality of the *Cise* in being able to provide a comfortable and welcoming place for Ainu in the urban sprawl alongside its public function.

Frame VI

Although the *Cise* exists as a kind of "ethnosite" as mentioned previously and through various activities like the workshops noted above it seeks to develop relationships of mutual transformation with the wider population, a stringent division between public and private spheres of experience remains. This division highlights the operation of certain boundaries that demarcate social groupings within the *Cise* itself.

It was nearing my second Christmas in Japan and after sixteen months of fieldwork I was days from returning to Canada. At the end of this time, I found myself at a particularly low ebb, increasingly demoralized by the social and moral complexities of fieldwork surrounding a hidden and politically delicate situation. It was at this time however I received an unexpected call from T-san, an Ainu friend and waitress at the *Rera Cise*. She started off with some informal pleasantries and by asking how I was doing and whether I was busy. "Thing is," she said, "there's a foreigner here asking lots of questions and I wondered whether you'd talk to her?"

"Of course," I said, "put her on."

I guess her request didn't really register with me until I heard the next voice because in the few seconds of silence that followed I was too busy processing the fact that that had been the first time I'd been called on directly to help out with something other than an event. I had become, at last, part of the group's network of support. "Hello, who's this?" asked a rather bewildered American voice on the end of the line. I explained to her who I was and what I was doing. She didn't need to explain why I'd

been asked to talk to her, I instinctively knew and in that I suddenly realized the extent to which I had succeeded, if ever so slightly, in gaining an understanding of the social dynamics of Ainu community in Tokyo as well as of Ainu society in general.

"I'm a graduate student and I want to write a paper on Ainu and came here to ask some questions, but they were umming and erring and looked very uncomfortable and then the waitress phoned you. Why am I talking to you?"

After a couple of minutes engaged in efforts of reassurance more than anything else, I talked to T-san again and told her that I would come to the restaurant later that evening to meet with the student. In a way, I understood the predicament that the student had found herself in. As noted in the introduction, at the beginning of the previous year I had also experienced a similar awkward situation when questions had been met with bewilderment, discomfiture and resentment.

Commentary

A few days after meeting up with the student, I returned to the *Cise* for a final visit before leaving. T-san thanked me again for helping out and expressed her incredulity once again at the presumption of the student to just walk in off the street and start asking questions in such a manner. "Whereas you," gesturing to me, "y'know, you've done things properly," she said, "you always attend events, come on trips, nights out and hung out here, so of course you can ask questions, but why should I talk to someone I don't even know." The topic ended by T-san questioning whether the student would attend an event planned for that weekend, if not, it was pretty clear that she would not be accommodated again.

Of course, this exchange clearly highlights the politics of fieldwork that took a lot of time to negotiate through regular attendance at 'events' and so on. It points to the appreciation on the part of Ainu to one's dedication in seeking to take part in and support the activities of the *Cise*. In doing so, it also points to the level of humanness on which relationships with the *Cise* are established. The network of support that, for all intents and purposes, is firmly integrated into the familial environment of the *Cise*, does not discriminate along any particular category of social life. Instead, beyond ethnic or class divides, it is participation in everyday events – as yourself – that counts the most. This

level of consociation is not peculiar to the *Cise*, to varying degrees it is characteristic of all other Ainu and Ainu related groups in the capital region.

Nevertheless it also points to something else regarding the make-up of the *Cise* itself. There is a distinct division made between noted supporters of the restaurant's activities and other customers. The dedication shown by the network of supporters always makes them welcome at events both inside and outside the *Cise*. This is something that I move on to next in the final frame.

4. Family and Refuge

Frame VII

Approximately twice a year the *Rera Cise* organizes a three or four day trip to Hokkaidō. On two occasions, I was invited to accompany the group to the rural village of Akan – the hometown of several of the *Cise* staff. The first trip was made in February and the second in October of the same year. The latter coincided with the annual Marimo festival held by Akan Ainu, an event long considered indicative of the historical interrelationship between Ainu ceremonial practice in Akan and the local tourist economy (Irimoto 2004). In many respects, the trips were family events. For the *Cise* staff, it offered them the chance to catch up with friends and relatives. It also provided an opportunity for us to meet their families and join in with various social events put on by the local Ainu community.[27] Whilst there, it was not unusual to be invited on car journeys to outlying areas as the staff took the opportunity to meet up with extended relations even if it was only for an afternoon. The second trip to the Marimo festival also introduced me to the fact that despite the geographical and social distances between rural hometowns in Hokkaidō and Tokyo, many Ainu did their utmost to participate in life 'at home'. That year marked the first time one of the *Cise* members had chosen to take part in the festival's ceremonial activities proper.

The family-oriented context of those trips reflect the socially 'open' dynamics of the *Cise*'s activities in Tokyo. It also draws attention to the purposeful integration of non-Ainu supporters into that family environment. One example of this at the *Cise* was

[27] Of course, at the same time, it also provided an opportunity for those relations who ran tourist shops and the village in general to make some extra income.

the holding of informal birthday celebrations. The last birthday event I attended at the *Cise* was a couple of months before I finally left the field. From April 2003, a monthly gathering to celebrate a birthday of one of the *Cise*'s staff or supporters had started being held. The event was greatly anticipated by all those involved and would normally stretch into the early hours meaning that many of those who came slept at the *Cise* till the following morning. The atmosphere of the gathering was always convivial and, if he was there, usually sparked a performance on the *tonkori* from an Ainu musician and member of the Ainu Association of Wind. Due to the fact that it was a regular event, the significance it took on symbolized the depth of commitment many felt towards the *Cise* as well as an appreciation for the food and drink that it served.

Commentary

Family is an important aspect of the *Rera Cise*, as one might expect when delineating the relations that define a modern 'home'. At one level, immediate and extended family relations distinguish the association between the majority of staff at the *Cise*. At another and perhaps more definitive level, however, family also signifies a more fluid network of relationships based on friendship, support and alliance. This in itself is operative in two ways. First concerns the inclusion of long time supporters and friends of the *Cise* – who are non-Ainu and derive from an array of different ethnic and social backgrounds – in a variety of the group's activities. As noted in the last two frames, this involves participation in semi-private social gatherings like the impromptu celebration of members' birthdays at the *Cise* but it also extends to being asked to help out at festivals where the *Cise* puts out a stall selling Ainu food, attending events with the group where Ainu members of the *Cise* are performing or giving a talk as well as going on trips with *Rera Cise* staff a couple of times a year back to their home regions of Akan and Kushiro in eastern Hokkaidō. In this environment, social boundaries between Ainu and others are distinctly if not purposefully blurred. The principles of consociation override any particular rules of ethnic groupism.

In a second way, however, the function of the *Cise* as representative of a fluid family network is directly related to Ainu. From a general standpoint, it provides a home or temporary space of refuge. Irrespective of background, it allows Ainu in the city to

drop in for the night. Having said this however I am not aware of any instance of Ainu just casually dropping in to stay; reflective perhaps of the wider social politics surrounding Ainu identity the stopovers I learnt of always seemed to be informally organized in some way . In terms of Ainu regulars affiliated with the *Cise* in Tokyo however, the notion of family is entwined with a sense of it being a household. This stems from memories of the previous place in Waseda that I was told evoked a distinct familial spirit. However, the present location it seemed had financial concerns that had undermined the nature of that atmosphere. Also, the failing health and absence of the Ainu Association of Wind elder who had co-founded the group as well as the restaurant was often referred to as a major reason.

Conclusion

As characterized by these frames, beyond its public role as an ethnic restaurant, the *Rera Cise* is a diverse location intersected by different kinds of social interaction and relationships. In one way, these examples touch on many of the different facets that constitute Ainu sociality in the region: for example, extroverted characteristics like trans-ethnic alliance, consociation, solidarity alongside introverted features like cultural revitalization, ceremonial practice and inter-generational communication. That these dynamics are based within a restaurant is highly significant. It points to the diasporic significance of food as being at once a primary cultural resource in Tokyo but also a mobile commodity from Hokkaido; capable of actuating meaning and economic income outside of 'traditional food-systems'.

The *Rera Cise* represents a good example of how, more generally, food is commonly talked about as being "ethnic", "hybrid" and "creolized", terms once reserved for describing processes of identity formation (Appadurai 1988b, Chua & Rajah 2001, Hynes 2000). This particular way of conceptualizing food has emerged in tandem with the rise in diasporic and multiethnic forms of identification, where "[i]dentities...are not fixed social constructs, but are constructed and reconstructed within given social formations, reflecting the given and imagined structural constraints and lived experiences of subjects" (Koc & Welsh 2002: 46). To a degree, Ainu experiences epitomize this logic, especially in the way they reflect the extension of social interrelationships through

food and other modes of consumption across diasporic space. Most of all, the *Cise* shows how the behaviours and beliefs surrounding Ainu food practices are processes of identity and thus are not fixed to a particular segment of time or space but fluid and subject to patterns of historical and social change. Within this new relational geography, 'traditional food-systems' are replaced by 'foodways' due to how food continues to fortify identity construction *ex situ* and produces and reflects upon the "organization of society on both the broadest and most intimate levels" (Counihan 1999: 6).

Part Three

Conclusion

Rethinking Indigenous Studies

CHAPTER NINE

The Future: 'Kantō Ainu' and the Urbanization of Indigenous Studies

Today, in spite of statistics that suggest a majority of the world's Indigenous peoples now lives outside of traditional regions in urban, suburban or metropolitan areas, the common conception of Indigenous life is still inherently articulated around images of bucolic and environmental romanticism. As an emblematic effect of modernity, urbanization is considered to disrupt traditional relationships that Indigenous peoples maintain with 'the land'. In following the conventional image of Indigenous peoples as inherently tied to a rural, territorial domain, *dis*location from the homeland is thought to initiate the process of assimilation into wider society. A decline in traditional food practices, for example, is considered to index the rate of such acculturation. Such logic provides added credence to the use of terms such as "alienation" (Van den Berghe 1984), "displacement" (Cook & Crang 1996) or "delocalization" (Kuhnlein & Receveur 1996) in analyzing the impact of modernization and free-market economic reform on traditional (food) cultures. Because of the prevalence of this way of thinking, a primary challenge of this thesis has been to remain mindful that whilst the situation of Ainu in and around the capital region of Tokyo represents a unique context of social life within Ainu society, as a topic of academic investigation it is part of a much broader field of inquiry rooted in fundamental problems of socio-economic and political marginalization, governance and (non-) representation shared by most, if not all, urban Indigenous populations.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the contemporary geography of Indigenous peoples in cities across the world represents a serious challenge to the dominant representation of Indigenous life as "confined" or "incarcerated" by relations to 'the land' (Appadurai 1988a). In many respects, the politics of representation that informs such geography derives its relevance from the spatial critique that has undermined the anthropological

idea of 'the field' as a bounded and introverted site of culture (Malkki 1995, 1997).[1] With significant attention now shifting to issues of diaspora and transnationalism and concomitant issues of place, locality and belonging in attempts to open up new avenues of inquiry into human migration (Axel 2002), it seems rather peculiar that this has not prompted greater interest in the social dynamics of Indigenous peoples in non-traditional, urban areas than has appeared until now. Moreover, it seems a shame that academics and policymakers have yet to fully appreciate the dual capabilities of diaspora as a heuristic device: firstly, to destabilize parochial representations of Indigenous peoples and secondly, help frame an informed understanding of the wider history, issues and dynamics pertaining to the situation of Indigenous peoples resident in urban areas.

'Kantō Ainu' and the Politics of 'Home'

For Ainu in Tokyo, the relevance of a diasporic approach is directly related to the politics of place *and* place-making and the broader experience of 'Home' that they refer to. Through the idea of 'place' as a particular location intersected by social interaction, we recognize that the idea of an Ainu "community" in Tokyo cannot be regarded as an essentialist proposition. Rather, in diasporic terms, it constitutes the emergence of a "field of identifications ... forged within and out of a confluence of narratives from annals of collective memory and re-memory" (Brah 1996: 196). In other words, the variety of personal experiences that intersect Ainu identity in Tokyo speak to the fact that, far from representing the cohesive transfer of Ainu society from one area to another, the history of Ainu migration to the capital has been defined, at many different levels, by disjunction and the break, however temporary, from social contexts elsewhere. Whereas many 'Ainu' paid no attention to their Ainu heritage upon their arrival in the capital and sought to pass as Wajin in their daily lives, a small but significant number hailing from different parts of Hokkaidō started to come together as a collective and think about what it meant to be Ainu in Tokyo. Based on the variety of narratives of experience, it was natural that the building of a *seikatsukan* became a primary goal, allowing Ainu a space in which to meet, gather and discuss.

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[1] This critique really emerged out of the work of Eric Wolf (1982) and Sidney Mintz (1985) and their sustained development of trans-local analysis that implicated "culture" in a new politico-economic framework of global and regional interconnectedness.

When addressed in this way, the case of Ainu in Tokyo can be characterized in terms of a heterogeneous 'diaspora space', meaning that since an Ainu 'field of identifications' emerged in Tokyo during the 1960s, its articulation has always been based on a range of different experiences and, perhaps most importantly, intersected internally by positions of difference along the lines of gender, class, age, occupation, hometown affiliation and so on. Needless to say, over time, this fundamental historical dynamic has reconfigured the idea of 'Home' (cf. Nasta 2001: 7) for Ainu in the capital and drawn attention to the broader value of adopting culture, identity and collectivity as a tropic prism through which to view and examine Ainu sociality in Tokyo.

More generally, the idea of Tokyo as a Home for Ainu unsettles normalized assumptions regarding Hokkaidō as the definitive 'Ainu homeland'. Firstly, it is obvious that a bounded, northern geographical referent for "Ainu society" does not account for the fact that Ainu live right across the Japanese archipelago and in other countries. Indeed, beyond the scope of population statistics reported by the 1975 and 1988 Tokyo surveys, Umesao Tadao, founder of the National Museum of Ethnology (*Minpaku*) in Osaka, has suggested that it is not unreasonable to assume more Ainu today live outside of Hokkaidō than within it (Umesao & Ishii 1999: 219). The multi-regional make-up of the Ainu population in Tokyo also deconstructs the idea of the 'homeland' as a uniform experience. It reminds us that the idea of the 'homeland' and an imagined return to it at some future date as a defining aspect of diaspora (Safran 1991) fails to account for the subjective range of interpretations that qualify, in myriad ways, the meaning of 'Home' and its "multi-placedness ... in the diasporic imaginary" (Brah 1996: 197).[2] What denotes 'Home' for an Ainu from Asahikawa, for example, is different from what it means for an Ainu from Obihiro, or Shiraoi or Sapporo or for a new generation born and brought up in Tokyo. Needless, to say it has been this regionalized experience that has greatly influenced the unique formation of 'Ainu society' in the capital over time and complicated claims of 'Ainu groupism'. Perhaps the most significant aspect of 'Home' of all, however, is the gradual process of Ainu "implacement" within the capital region that has emerged since at least the 1980s.

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[2] In this way, Brah (1996: 192-193) has suggested, we should talk more in terms of a 'homing desire' than of a 'homeland' and, therefore, foreground the key tension inherent to the concept of diaspora between discourses of 'home' and 'dispersion' that this move evokes.

By "implacement" I refer to both the symbolic and political construction of Tokyo as a Home which Ainu can identify with and be identified by. In terms of symbolism, the development of traditional relations with the Kantō environment through ceremonial practice, for example, represents an emergent paradigm of 'Kantō Ainu' sociality. By identifying *kamuy* – especially incarnations of powerful and important *kamuy* – as present within the cityscape and the wider Kantō region, the notion of Ainu "resident" in Tokyo is reworked. The formation and articulation of traditional and enduring relations with the environment allow Ainu to *belong* in the capital region and identify with it in new ways. Of course, as the outcome of recent ceremonial innovation, this way of thinking is highly novel and as it represents the activities of particular groups, it has its opponents. The extent to which such criticism is based along factional lines and on the experiences of first generation Ainu *from* Hokkaidō, however, will become apparent in the future as new generations are born and brought up in Tokyo.

Another level of symbolism that denotes a truly regionalized form of Ainu sociality in the capital is the history of self-organization and along with it the role of "places". The response to the situation of Ainu in Tokyo has been based on social interaction between Ainu (and with non-Ainu). This has underlined the significance of consociation for Ainu life – the fundamental appeal of regional and familial alliances over pan-ethnic identity – but has also drawn attention to the "places" which Ainu social interrelations have created and been transformed by. In this way, the Center, Kantō region and *Rera Cise* restaurant all characterize identifiable locations of "open" social interaction based within the geography of the city that contribute to the "implacement" of Ainu in an urban Home. This point is also reinforced by another role of self-organization, namely the demarcation of all non-Hokkaidō Ainu as a political collective.

'Kantō Ainu' as a Political Collective

Despite the emergence of Tokyo as an identifiable location of Ainu activity and social interaction, the reality is that Hokkaidō remains a dominant referent. The assumption of borders demarcating Ainu life has political implications regarding the exclusion of non-Hokkaidō Ainu from the allocation of particular rights and privileges. When turning attention to the subject of borders, it soon becomes apparent that the question of 'Home'

for Ainu in the capital is always caught up in much broader, political struggles that regulates the social practice of 'belonging' to the Ainu nation. This relates to the idea of the *localization* or *regionalization* of Ainu issues.[3] The most prominent political feature of current day borders demarcating Ainu territory is that they converge around the assumption that Ainu may well constitute an Indigenous minority but only *there*, in Hokkaidō. This mirrors the international usage of borders classifying who is and who isn't Indigenous and, therefore, within a brave new world of Indigenous rights, who is and who isn't entitled to certain benefits and privileges (McKinnon 1997).[4] For Ainu in Tokyo, the political function of the Tsugaru border (dividing Hokkaidō from Honshū) has served to define their experience at many different levels: Ainu outside of Hokkaidō, for example, cannot become members of the Hokkaidō Utari Association, the largest Ainu association, and therefore are not recognized as Ainu in official population statistics; non-Hokkaidō Ainu are also excluded from the rights and benefits provided by the Hokkaidō Utari Welfare Act; although Ainu in Tokyo are recognized by the 1997 Cultural Promotion Act, this does not provide access to any particular rights or privileges. For all intents and purposes, Ainu outside of Hokkaidō are the same as Wajin in terms of law, hence the initiative on the part of some Ainu to continue their campaign for a rights-based ethnic law (*minzoku seisaku*) inclusive of 'Kantō Ainu'.

On Exploring the "Nature of Indigeneity"

Although the collective identity 'Kantō Ainu' has yet to be fully accepted within Ainu discourse, the foundations for its emergence are already apparent. That this is the case

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[3] The burgeoning literature on border theory and border studies (Cunningham and Heyman [2004] offer a useful summary) underscores the fact that the inscription of a geographical division between Ainu and non-Ainu territory in the political construction of a modern Ainu 'Homeland' is an arbitrary act caught up in historically determined, context-specific processes of political and social power and negotiation. In talking about 'Ainu borders' however, I use the word 'arbitrary' with caution as I do not intend to conflate its meaning with futility. Borders are arbitrary constructions but remain, nevertheless, powerful sites of discursive control. On this point, Avtar Brah has drawn on the theorization of Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) to suggest that in being arbitrary, borders should be regarded as concepts that become a metaphor for "psychological, sexual, spiritual, cultural, class and racialized boundaries" (Brah 1996: 198). The metaphorical inscription of each border, she maintains, "calls attention to its specific features" and, therefore, to the experiences of those affected by the formulation of boundaries (Brah 1996: 198).

[4] Analysis of borders draws attention to the ways in which space and its occupants are bounded, regulated and conceptually defined. Cunningham and Heyman (2004: 293) have taken up this point as an organizing principle of their research agenda on enclosures and mobilities, outlining how the two notions reflect a broader sense of borders as "ongoing social processes governed through political, economic, and cultural struggles".

highlights two key points I wish to pick up on in concluding this thesis and discussing the future orientation of urban Indigenous research. First is the fact that, within the context of Ainu society, identity politics sustains a divisive agenda. The normalized representation of Ainu as integral to the Hokkaidō landscape reproduces received ideas of geography (region, locality) and authenticity (culture, race) that in no way reflect the true (urban, national, international) dimensions of contemporary Ainu society. Therefore, alongside rethinking the geographical boundaries of the Ainu world – bearing in mind the more complex issue concerning *Ainu Moşir* and its portability – it is important that the concept of who is Ainu and what 'Ainu identity' actually infers be moved away from essentialist rhetoric and towards a more pragmatic rationale based on the historical realities of lived experience. At a preliminary level, one could argue that this process has been underway for some time when considering the rather fluid definition of 'Ainu' used by the Hokkaidō Utari Association in their surveys of Ainu in Hokkaidō conducted every seven years.[5] However, the fact that Hokkaidō continues to act as a critical marker in all Ainu affairs would suggest that the process has not yet gone far enough. In many respects, I can see how the situation of Ainu in Tokyo could be construed as posing a challenge to the political agenda of the Ainu elite. After all, by adopting a Tokyo-based perspective on issues of identity, the idea of the definitive 'Ainu social group' based on the ideal of the rural, traditional Ainu community would be undermined by the pluralist concept of an 'historical ethnic collectivity'. Nevertheless, if the needs of all Ainu across Japan are to be met, then such issues will have to be discussed. Furthermore, if a compromise is to be reached then Ainu leaders will have to take seriously the prospect of rethinking political discourse based on the static language of *people*, *place* and *community* with a more active and relational mode of address articulating *culture*, *identity* and *collectivity*.

My second point regarding the acceptance of 'Kantō Ainu' as an appropriate marker of collective identity in some ways presupposes the point above and feeds into the

[5] This definition states that to be considered Ainu, one can be either: 1) an individual of Ainu ancestry; 2) an individual married to a person of Ainu ancestry; or, 3) a non-Ainu child adopted into an Ainu family. Most importantly, if an individual meets one of the above criteria and does not self-identify as Ainu then that person is not considered Ainu. This constitutes a major shift in understanding from that underpinning government definitions up until the late 1970s whereby 'Ainu' was a tantamount to an inscribed identity, i.e. a person was Ainu if they were identified as Ainu by others in the community.

wider issue of urban Indigenous research. Like the situation of most Indigenous peoples in urban areas around the world, when considering the history of Ainu migration and residence in and around Tokyo the most obvious and popular topic for discussion is one of identity. Yet, in order for this discussion to be both progressive and productive, we need to underline the fact that by adopting it as our primary topic of interest we do not assume discussion about a particular kind of Ainu or Indigenous person. Instead, what we are referring to is a particular kind of *experience*. By taking 'experience' as our point of focus what we are in fact interested in, first and foremost, is what Gegeo (2001) terms the "nature of Indigeneity". This draws greater attention to the grounded actions of everyday life and the ways in which Indigenous people *actually* live and experience the city and the strategies of negotiation and co-operation that they employ. The history and social complexity of Ainu life in Tokyo underlines the efficacy of this point and demonstrates its capacity to undermine conventional opinion of Indigenous life in the city to reveal the emergence in urban areas of *new* Indigenous modernities and *new* forms of sociality.

For the developing discipline of Indigenous Studies, the integration of a theoretically and historically informed ethnographic urban perspective into program syllabi will represent an important challenge in the coming decade as statistics better clarify the urban demographics of the world's Indigenous peoples. There remains, after all, a great deal to be done both with regard to comparative work on an international scale and more local, regionalized studies. Hopefully, in the not too distant future, recognition of the social, political and economic import of urban issues for the Indigenous world will engender popular support within academic and governmental circles and circumscribe 'Urban Indigenous Studies' as a critical and legitimate field of inquiry.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: THE HOKKAIDŌ FORMER NATIVES PROTECTION ACT (LAW NO. 27, MARCH 1899)

Article 1
Those Former Natives of Hokkaidō who are engaged, or wish to engage, in agriculture shall be granted free of charge no more than 15,000 *tsubo* (3,954 sq. yards) of land per household.

Article 2
The land granted under the preceding Article is subject to the following conditions on rights of ownership.

1 It may not be transferred except by inheritance.
2 No rights of pledge, mortgage, lease or perpetual lease can be established.
3 No easement (servitude) can be established without the permission of the Governor of Hokkaidō.
4 It cannot become the object of a lien or preferential right. The land granted in the preceding Article shall not be subject to land tax or local taxes until 30 years from the date of grant. Land already owned by Former Natives shall not be transferred except by inheritance, nor shall any of the real rights (*jus in rem*) referred to in paragraphs 1 to 3 be established upon it without the permission of the Governor of Hokkaidō.

Article 3
Any part of the land granted under Article 1 shall be confiscated if it has not been cultivated after 15 years from the date of grant.

Article 4
Hokkaidō Former Natives who are destitute will be provided with agricultural equipment and seeds.

Article 5
Hokkaidō Former Natives who are injured or ill but cannot afford medical treatment shall be provided with medical treatment or expenses of medicine.

Article 6
Hokkaidō Former Natives who are too injured, ill, disabled, senile or young to provide for themselves shall be granted welfare under existing legislation and if they should die at or during the period of assistance funeral expenses will be provided.

Article 7
Children of destitute Hokkaidō Former Natives who are attending school will be provided withy tuition fees.

Article 8

Expenses incurred under Article 4 to 7 shall be appropriated from the proceeds of the communal funds of Hokkaidō Former Natives, or if these are insufficient, form the National Treasury.

Article 9
An elementary school will be constructed with funds form the National Treasury in areas where there is a Former Native village.

Article 10
The Governor of Hokkaidō will manage the communal funds of the Hokkaido Former Natives.

The Governor of Hokkaidō, subject to the approval of the Home Minister, may dispose of the communal funds for the interests of the owners of the communal funds or may refuse to expend it if he deems necessary.

The communal funds managed by the Governor of Hokkaidō shall be designated by the Governor of Hokkaidō.

Article 11
The Governor of Hokkaidō may issue police orders with regard to the protection of the Hokkaidō Former Natives and may impose a fine of over 2 yen but no more than 25 yen or a period of imprisonment over 11 days but no more than 25 days.

By-laws

Article 12
This Act will become effective from 1 April 1899.

Article 13
Regulations relevant to the implementation of this Act shall be set by the Home Minister.

(Source: ASH, pp. 117-119; Ainu Association of Hokkaidō, *Statement submitted to the Fifth Session of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations*, Geneva, August 1987, Material 1.)[1]

Note: five revisions of the Act took place - deleting Articles 2:2, 4 to 6, 9 and 11.

[1] Siddle (1996: 194-196).

APPENDIX 2: NEW LAW CONCERNING THE AINU PEOPLE (DRAFT) ADOPTED AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UTARI KYŌKAI, 27 MAY 1984

Preamble

The objectives of this legislation are to recognise the existence of the Ainu people with their own distinct culture in the state of Japan; for their ethnic pride to be respected under the Constitution of Japan; and for their ethnic rights to be guaranteed.

Reasons for this legislation

The Ainu people are a group with a unique history, possessing a distinct language and culture and maintaining a common economic lifestyle in Ainu Moshiri (the land where Ainu live) – Hokkaidō, Karafuto, and the Kurile Islands. The Ainu have held fast to their ethnic independence while struggling against the inhumane invasion and oppression of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Matsumae Domain.

The Japanese government, having taken its first step to becoming a modern state with the Meiji Restoration, unilaterally incorporated Ainu Moshiri into state territory as ownerless land without any negotiations with the indigenous Ainu. Furthermore, the government concluded the Sakhalin - Kurile Exchange Treaty with Imperial Russia and forced the Ainu in Karafuto and the Northern Kuriles to leave their homeland where they lived in peace.

The Ainu were robbed of their land, forests and seas. Taking deer or salmon became poaching and collecting firewood was deemed theft. On the other hand, Wajin immigrants flooded into the land, destructive developing began, and the very survival of the Ainu people was threatened.

The dignity of the Ainu people was trampled underfoot by a policy of assimilation based on discrimination and prejudice. The Ainu were confined to granted lands, and their freedom to move or pursue an occupation other than agriculture was restricted, while their distinct language was stolen from them through education.

The postwar agrarian reform extended to the so-called Former Native allotments, and the trend in agricultural modernisation scattered the poor small-scale Ainu farmers, destroying the *Kotan* [villages] one by one.

Several tens of thousand Ainu are now said to live in Hokkaidō, with several thousand more outside Hokkaidō. Most of them are not guaranteed equal opportunities for employment due to unfair racial prejudice and discrimination. Excluded from the modern corporate sector, the Ainu form a group of the disguised unemployed and their lifestyle is usually insecure. Discrimination increases poverty, while poverty engenders further discrimination. The present sees widening gaps in such areas as living conditions and educational advancements for children.

The so-called Hokkaidō Utari Welfare Countermeasures that are presently being implemented are no more than a random collection of legislation and regulations. Not only do they lack coordination, but, above all, they obscure the responsibility of the state towards the Ainu people.

What is demanded here is the establishment of a thorough and comprehensive system predicated on the restoration of the ethnic rights of the Ainu, to eliminate racial

discrimination, promote ethnic education and culture, and provide a policy for economic independence.

The issue of the Ainu people is a shameful historical legacy that arose during the process of establishing Japan as a modern state. It is also an important issue with implications for the guarantee of basic human rights under the Constitution. It is the responsibility of the government to resolve the situation. Recognising the problem as one concerning all citizens of Japan, the government must abolish the humiliating and discriminatory Hokkaidō Former Natives Protection Act and enact new legislation for the Ainu people. This legislation must apply to all Ainu living in Japan.

Section 1: Basic human rights

The basic human rights of the Ainu have been clearly violated over the years in the educational, social and economic spheres by both concrete and intangible racial prejudice.

With regard to this, the new legislation for the Ainu people is based on the fundamental concept of elimination of discrimination against the Ainu people.

Section 2: The right to political participation

Since the Meiji Restoration, under the official designations of 'Native' or 'Former Native', the Ainu people have received discriminatory treatment different from that accorded to other Japanese. There is no need to discuss the pre-Meiji period here. To overcome this humiliating situation and correctly reflect the demands of the Ainu people in national and local politics, the government should immediately put in place a policy to guarantee seats for Ainu representation in the National Diet and local assemblies.

Section 3: Education and culture

Institutional discrimination against the Ainu under the Hokkaidō Former Natives Protection Act not only clearly violates the human rights of the Ainu but also encourages discrimination against the Ainu among the public. This has hindered the normal development of the Ainu people in education and culture and contributed to their inferior situation socially and economically.

The government must take the position that breaking through this current situation is one of the most important issues in a policy for the Ainu people and implement the following policies.

1 The implementation of a general education policy for Ainu children.
2 The planned introduction of Ainu language lessons for Ainu children.
3 The implementation of a policy to completely eliminate discrimination against the Ainu, both within the school system and in education in society.
4 The initiation of courses in Ainu language, culture and history in university education. Moreover, the employment of Ainu with ability to conduct such courses in various fields as professors, associate professors, or lecturers, regardless of existing

legislation. The establishment of a special admissions system for Ainu children to enter university and take such courses.

5 The establishment of a national research facility specialising in the study and maintenance of Ainu language and culture. Ainu should actively participate as researchers. Previous research has been fundamentally flawed since it was unilaterally conducted without respect to the wishes of the Ainu and turned the Ainu into so-called objects of research. This must be corrected.

6 The reinvestigation of the existence of the problems surrounding the contemporary transmission and preservation of Ainu culture, with a view to perfecting methods.

Section 4: Agriculture, fishing, forestry, commercial and manufacturing activity

The Hokkaidō Former Natives Protection Act stipulates a grant of up to 15,000 *tsubo* (about 5 hectares) per household for those engaged in agriculture. However, it must be recognised that Ainu difficulties in agriculture clearly result from the presence of discriminatory regulations not applied to other Japanese. The Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act must be abolished and a policy appropriate for the modern age established.

The present situation with regard to fishing, forestry, commercial and manufacturing activity is that because the same lack of understanding of the conditions of Ainu life exists, they have been ignored and no appropriate policy implemented.

To promote the economic independence of the Ainu, the following necessary conditions should therefore be put in place.

Agriculture

1 The guarantee of and appropriate acreage

Since Hokkaido agriculture can be broadly classified into wet-rice cultivation, arable cropping, and dairy farming, a fair and appropriate acreage must be guaranteed according to the local agricultural situation.

2 Provisions and modernisation of the productive base

Projects to improve the productive base for Ainu-managed agricultural enterprises should be implemented without regard to existing legislation.

3 Miscellaneous

Fishing

1 The granting of fishing rights

For those managing fishing enterprises or engaged in fishing, such rights should be granted to those who fish them regardless of the presence of existing fishing rights.

2 Provision and modernisation of the productive base

Projects to improve the productive base for Ainu-managed fishing enterprises should be implemented without regard for existing legislation.

3 Miscellaneous

Forestry

1 The promotion of forestry

Necessary measures should be implemented for the promotion of forestry for those who manage or are engaged in forestry enterprises.

Manufacturing and commercial

1 The promotion of manufacturing and commerce

Necessary measures should be implemented for the promotion of commercial or manufacturing enterprises managed by Ainu.

Labour policy

1 The enlargement of employment opportunities

Historical circumstances have clearly chronically lowered the economic position of the Ainu people. One manifestation of this is the large number of seasonal workers who can be regarded as disguised unemployed. The government should actively promote a labour policy to widen opportunities for employment for the Ainu people.

Section 5: Fund for Ainu self-reliance

The so-called Hokkaidō Utari Welfare Countermeasures are supported from the budgets of the Hokkaidō and national governments, but these protective measures should be abolished and a fundamental policy must be implemented to make the Ainu people self-reliant. The rights to guaranteed political participation, the promotion of education and culture, and the improvement in the productive base in agriculture, fishing and other enterprises should be considered part of this. Of these policies, some should be undertaken on the responsibility of national, prefecture, or municipal authorities, while others should be undertaken under the responsibility of the Ainu people. In the later case in particular, a fund called the Self Reliance Fund of the Ainu People should be established. This fund should be under independent Ainu management.

The government should be responsible for providing resources for the Fund.

The Fund should be established at the latest by 1987, when the second seven year stage of the welfare policy is completed.

Section 6: Consultative bodies

To justify and continually reflect Ainu policies in national and local politics, the following consultative bodies should be established.

1 A Central Consultative Council for Ainu Policy (provisional title) should be established, directly attached to the Prime Minister's Office or associated with it. Members should consist of relevant State Ministers, representatives of the Ainu people, Diet members representing all parties from both Upper and Lower Houses, experienced scholars, business leaders and others.
2 Along with this consultative body at the national level, a Hokkaidō Consultative Council for Ainu Policy (provisional title) should be established. Composition should follow the same lines as the Central Consultative Council.

(Source: *Senkusha no Tsudoi*, No. 37 (October 1984), pp. 4-6; Ainu Association of Hokkaido, *Statement Submitted to the Fifth Session of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations*, Geneva, August 1987, Material 10.)[1]

[1] Siddle (1996: 196-200).

APPENDIX 3: LAW FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE AINU CULTURE AND FOR THE DISSEMINATION ADVOCACY FOR THE TRADITIONS OF THE AINU AND THE AINU CULTURE[1]

Law No. 52, May 14, 1997
Amendment: Law No. 160, Dec. 22, 1999

Article 1 (purpose)
This law aims to realize the society in which the ethnic pride of the Ainu people is respected and to contribute to the development of diverse cultures in our country, by the implementation of the measures for the promotion of Ainu culture (hereafter called "Ainu Traditions"), the spread of knowledge related to Ainu Traditions, and the education of the nation, referring to the situation of Ainu traditions and culture from which the Ainu people find their ethnic pride.

Article 2 (definition)
"The Ainu Culture" in this law means the Ainu language and cultural properties such as music, dance, crafts, and other cultural properties which have been inherited by the Ainu people, and other cultural properties developed from these.

Article 3 (duties of the national and local governments)
The national government should make efforts to promote measures for the nurture of those who will inherit Ainu culture, the fruitfulness of educational activities concerning Ainu Traditions, the promotion of the monitor and study of the Ainu culture, which will contribute to its promotion and other measures to promote Ainu culture, as well as providing advice and support to the local governments necessary for measures to promote Ainu culture.
2. The local governments should make an effort to implement measures to promote the Ainu culture in accordance with the social situations of their areas.

Article 4 (respect to be taken into account in the implementation of this law)
The national and local governments should respect the autonomous spirit and ethnic pride of the Ainu people in the implementation of the measures to promote Ainu culture.

Article 5 (fundamental policy)
The Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology are required to establish the fundamental policy for the measures to promote Ainu culture (hereafter called "the Fundamental Policy").
2. The following should be established in the Fundamental Policy.
(1) The fundamental matters for the promotion of Ainu culture
(2) Matters related to measures for the promotion of Ainu culture
(3) Matters related to measures for the spread of knowledge relevant to Ainu Traditions, and the education campaign for the nation

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1 Found on-line at The Foundation for Research and Promotion of the Ainu Culture website at: http://www.frpac.or.jp/english/zaidan/e_law.html. Last Accessed on 04/02/05.

(4) Matters related to the monitor and study of Ainu culture which contribute to its promotion
(5) Important matters related to the respect which should be put into account in the implementation of the measures for the promotion of Ainu culture
3. The Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology are required to consult with the heads of relevant administrative bodies and to listen to the comments of the local administrative bodies concerned provided in the 1st provision of the following article.
4. The Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology are required to announce the Fundamental Policy and/or the amendment with no delay when established/amended, as well as dispatch them to the local administrative bodies provided in the 1st provision of the following article.

Article 6 (fundamental program)
The local administrative bodies, appointed by national government ordinance, are recognized as responsible for the comprehensive implementation of measures to promote Ainu culture referring to the local social situations in the regions (hereafter called "the Prefectures Concerned") and should establish the fundamental program for measures to promote Ainu culture in the Prefectures Concerned.

2. In the fundamental program, the following should be determined:
(1) Fundamental Policy for the promotion of Ainu culture
(2) Matters on the content of the measures to promote Ainu culture
(3) Matters on the content of the measures to spread the knowledge relevant to Ainu Tradition to residents
(4) Significant matters which should be taken into account in the implementation of the measures to promote Ainu culture

3. The Prefectures Concerned are required to publicly announce and submit their

fundamental program to the Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology immediately when established/amended.

4. The Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology should make effort to provide necessary advice, recommendations, and information to the Prefectures Concerned in order to facilitate the establishment of the fundamental programs and the smooth implementation of the programs.

Article 7 (appointment)
Following the acceptance of applications from corporations which had been previously established to promote Ainu culture under the civil law (act #89/1896) Article #34, the Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology will appoint only one corporation in the country, and

recognize this corporation as proper to carry out fairly and surely the duties provided in the following article.
2. The Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology are required to announce the name, address of the office of the corporation (hereafter called "Appointed Corporation"), after the appointment according to previous provisions.
3. The Appointed Corporation is required to notify any plan to change its name and address to the Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology.
4. The Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology are required to announce the changed matter provided by the previous provision when they receive notice.

Article 8 (duties)
The Appointed Corporation is required to implement the following duties:
1. Duties for the nurture of those who will inherit Ainu culture and other duties relevant to the promotion of Ainu culture
2. Publishing activities related to Ainu Traditions and other campaigns
3.Research and monitoring activities which contribute to the promotion of Ainu culture
4. Providing support such as advice, subsidies, and other support to those who conduct the promotion of Ainu culture, the campaign activities related to Ainu Tradition, and research and monitoring activities.
5. Other duties which are necessary for the promotion of Ainu Culture not listed in the previous provisions.

Article 9 (implementation plan)
The Appointed Corporation is required to make an implementation plan and a budget, and submit them to the Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology every year, according to the statutes of the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. In case of amendments, the same procedure should be taken.
2. The implementation plan should be made in accordance with the content of the Fundamental Policy.
3. The Appointed Corporation is required to make a report on the measures and a settlement of accounts, and submit them to the Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology every year, according to the statutes of the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology.

Article 10 (the requisition of reports and inspection)
The Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology may require a report of the duties of the Person-in-law Appointed, dispatch their officials to the office of the Person-in-law Appointed to inspect the conduct of duties under the act, notes of account and documents, and question persons concerned, as far as necessary to implement this law.

2. The officials who inspect the office under the previous provision have to carry official identification, and show this identification when requested by persons concerned.
3. The implementation of the inspection shall not be interpreted as a criminal investigation.

Article 11 (the order to improve)
The Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology may order to the Person-in-law Appointed to implement measures necessary for improvement, when recognized as necessary to improve the conduct of duties provided in Article 8.

Article 12 (dismissal of the appointed body)
The Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology may dismiss the appointment when the Person-in-law Appointed violates the order provided by the previous provisions.
2. The Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology are required to publicly announce the dismissal of the appointed body.

Article 13 (the penalty)
Any person who refuses to make a report or makes a false report as required by the first provision of Article 10, or who refuses or interrupts the inspection provided by the same provision, or who does not answer or gives false answers to questions, may be imposed a penalty of less than \200,000 (two hundred thousand yen).
2. Not only the person who commits a violation under the previous provision, but also the same penalty may be imposed upon the Person-in-Law, when its representative, deputy, or employee commits a violation under the previous provision related to the duties of the Person-in-Law.

Supplementary Rules (excerpt)

Article 1 (date of validity)
This law will be enforced from a date which shall be provided by government ordinance within 3 months from its promulgation.

Article 2 (abolishment of the Hokkaidō Former Natives Protection Act)
The following acts will be abolished:
1. The Hokkaidō Former Natives Protection Act (#27/1899)
2. The Asahikawa Former Natives Protection Land Disposition Act (#9/1934)

Article 3 (temporary measures for the abolishment of the Hokkaidō Ex-Aborigines Protection Act)
The Governor of Hokkaido should put it under its control the Hokkaidō Ex-Aborigines Common Properties (called "the Common Property" in the next provision) which have been controlled under the 1st provision of Article 10 of the Hokkaidō Ex-Aborigines Protection Act (hereafter called "the Ex-Protection Act") until the return of the properties

to the owners as provided by from the following to the 4th provision, or the reversion to the Person-in-law Appointed or the Government of Hokkaidō as provided in the 5th provision
2. The Governor of Hokkaidō has to publicly announce matters in the official gazette provided by the ordinance of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare for each property appointed by the 3rd provision of the Article 10 of the Ex-Protection Act.
3. The owners of the common properties may request the return of the properties from the Governor of Hokkaidō within 1 year from the announcement as provided by the ordinance of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare.
4. The Governor of Hokkaidō may not return the properties to the owners after the term, except a case in which all of the owners make a request as required by the provision.
5. In the case that the owners of the common properties do not request the return within the term provided in the 3rd provision, the common properties will revert to the Person-in-law Appointed (in case that the appointment provided by the 1st provision of the Article 7 has not been carried out at the time of passage of the term, to Hokkaidō).
6. In the case that the common properties revert to the Person-in-law Appointed, the Person-in-Law should apply the properties to expenses related to the duties for the promotion of Ainu culture.

○The supplementary resolution to the legislative bill for the promotion of the Ainu Culture and for the dissemination and advocacy for Ainu traditions and culture(Cabinet Committee of the House of Councilors and the House of Representatives)

Referring to the historical and social circumstance into which the Ainu have been put, the Government should take appropriate measures for the following matters, in order to find further national understanding regarding the promotion of Ainu culture.

- To make efforts to respect the autonomous spirit and reflect the will of the Ainu sufficiently in measures to promote Ainu culture, in order to contribute to the realization of a society in which the ethnic pride of the Ainu is well respected
- To provide further support for the promotion of Ainu culture, for the respect of the ethnic pride of the Ainu and for the development of diverse cultures in our country
- To make efforts, regarding advocacy of human rights of the Ainu and awareness raising of this people, to take necessary measures by respecting the ratification of the "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination" and the spirit of the "U.N. Decade for Human Rights Education" etc.
- To make efforts to disseminate the knowledge about Ainu traditions, including the indigenous nature of the Ainu, which is a historical fact
- To continue to expand support for the existing Hokkaidō Utari Welfare Measures

APPENDIX 4: SELECTED REFERENCES

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